Internships and the Graduate Labour Market

by

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Portsmouth

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For Jozka and Errol

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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Wil Hunt

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Glossary

Acronym	Description
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance Analysis
BAO	Biographical Action Orientations
BCS	British Cohort Study
BDS	HESA Bespoke Data Service
BHPS	British Household Panel Survey
BIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
BPS	British Psychological Association
BSA	British Sociological Association
CAD	Creative Arts and Design
CGCF	Creative Graduates, Creative Futures project
CGCS	Creative Graduates' Careers Survey
CHEAD	Council for Higher Education in Art and Design
CIPD	Chartered Institute for Personnel and Development
CRAC	Careers Research and Advisory Centre
DCMS	Department for Culture Media and Sport
DLHE	Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education Survey
EU	European Union
GHS	General Household Survey
GI	Graduate Internship scheme
GLM	Graduate Labour Market
GPCF	Gateways to the Professions Collaborative Forum
GTP	Graduate Talent Pool
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council England
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Authority
HPS	Historical and Philosophical Studies
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JACS	Joint Academic Coding System
LDLHE	Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education Longitudinal Survey
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LTE	Long-Term Employment
MCD	Mass Communications and Documentation
MOE	Margin of Error

NAIRU	Non-Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment
NCDS	National Child Development Study
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
NLW	National Living Wage
NMW	National Minimum Wage
NSHD	National Survey of Health and Development
NUJ	National Union of Journalists
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PFAP	Panel on Fair Access to the Professions
SBTC	Skills Based Technological Change
SCCT	Social Cognitive Career Theory
SER	Standard Employment Relationship
SIC	Standard Industry Classification
SOC	Standard Occupational Categorisation
SRA	Social Research Association
TWA	Theory of Work Adjustment
UCKEPS	UK Employer Perspectives Survey
UG	Undergraduate
UK	United Kingdom
UKHLS	UK Household Longitudinal Study
USA/US	United States of America
WERS	Workplace Employment Relations Survey
WWII	World War Two

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Abstract

The ‘dual view’ of internships articulated in the literature and more widely holds that, on the one hand, they are thought to develop employability and are a stepping stone to particular careers or industries, while at the same time they are potentially exploitative and exclusionary. Unpaid internships present a barrier to social mobility because less-advantaged graduates are less likely to be able to forgo wages for any length of time whereas paid internships are unproblematic. This thesis challenges this view on two levels. Firstly, while paid internships do appear to help in the graduate labour market unpaid internships do not, and actually have a negative effect on earnings. Secondly, although those from less well-off backgrounds are less likely to do unpaid internships, after controlling for other factors, it is the more beneficial, paid internships that they struggle to secure.

The research employed quantitative data from two sources: secondary analysis of the 2011/12 Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education Survey (DLHE), and a bespoke survey of 616 creative arts, media and communications graduates surveyed two to six years after graduation. The research found: 1) internships are a small but significant part of the graduate labour market, particularly in some subject areas and industries, and unpaid internships are more common than previously estimated; 2) not all internships are equal, with paid internships generally of a higher level and more beneficial in the labour market than unpaid ones; 3) while paid internships do appear to help graduates earn more and get a creative or graduate level job, unpaid internships do not and actually lead to lower pay in the short to medium term; 4) while those from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to do internships (paid or unpaid), contrary to expectations, it was the more beneficial paid internships that disadvantaged graduates struggle to secure.

The findings contribute to three main debates in the sociology of employment literature. First, they provide evidence of increasingly individualised and uncertain transitions from education to employment, where graduates must take responsibility for developing employability by ‘auditioning’ for real jobs. Second, the findings challenge the ‘conventional’ view of a meritocratic labour market by showing that access to the best opportunities continues to be moulded by social class, and not just educational credentials. Third, the findings reveal that the classed patterns of advantage and disadvantage already evident in the education system extend well into the graduate labour market.

1 Introduction

This thesis examines the role graduate internships play in the graduate labour market. The findings challenge what has been termed in this thesis the ‘dual view’, whereby internships are portrayed as a double-edged sword. Internships are thought to help develop employability and are a stepping stone towards careers in certain industries, while at the same time, they are seen as exploitative, exclusive and a barrier to social mobility. Positive and critical accounts emphasise the advantages and associated problems to varying degrees, but both tend to assume (either explicitly or implicitly) that engaging in an internship will lead to employability benefits over not doing one. In this view internships, paid or unpaid, are thought to improve graduates’ positions in the labour market and unpaid internships are viewed as problematic because those without the financial support are less able to forgo wages for any substantial period of time. Paid internships are assumed to overcome this problem because of the removal of financial barriers and because they are likely to be accessed through more formal routes. The findings challenge this view on two main levels. Firstly, they show that not all internships are equal. Although paid internships do improve the position of graduates in the labour market, there is no evidence that unpaid ones do and they actually appear to have a negative effect on pay in the short to medium term, at least for creative and mass communications graduates. Secondly, although less privileged graduates were less likely to do unpaid internships, when controlling for other factors such as grades and institution reputation it was the better, paid internships that they were less able to access. Thus, compounding patterns of advantage and disadvantage already evident in the education system.

The research contributes to the sociology of employment literature by providing four substantive findings that contribute to three main debates, and ultimately provide a much more detailed and nuanced picture of the role internships play in the graduate labour market. Firstly, the research provides some much needed quantitative

evidence about the extent and nature of graduate internships. This evidence reveals that internships are a small but significant part of the graduate labour market, particularly in some sectors and subject areas such as creative arts and design and mass communications and documentation where around one quarter of graduates undertake internships at some point in the first two years after graduation. The evidence also shows that unpaid internships are far more common than previously thought, with more than half of all internships at six months after graduation being unpaid. Secondly, not all internships are equal. The findings reveal notable differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of level, development, access and outcomes, with paid internships seen as much more highly prized and beneficial than unpaid ones. Third, although paid internships do appear to improve employability there was no evidence that unpaid internships improve the chances of gaining a graduate level job and in fact lead to lower pay in the short to medium term, thus challenging a central plank of the 'dual view'. Fourthly, contrary to popular belief it is the paid internships in particular that those from less-privileged backgrounds struggle to secure. This is particularly concerning because it is the paid internships that are much more helpful in the graduate labour market.

Combined, these findings contribute to three key debates in the sociology of employment literature. First, findings on the progress of interns contribute to debates about transitions from education to employment by providing further evidence of lengthening and individualised transitions into the labour market, often with uncertain outcomes (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011). Graduates appear to be under increasing pressure to develop their own employability and to get labour market experience by whatever means they can in order to get on, even where the perceived (and actual) benefits are not so clear cut. This is suggestive of a shift of responsibility for developing labour-market skills and capabilities from employers to individuals, or a 'try before you buy' culture, consistent with theories about the increasing flexibilisation of the labour market (Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2013). Second, the findings contribute to debates about the nature of the graduate labour market by challenging the 'conventional' view of the labour market as increasingly meritocratic. The fact that some internships appear to be more valued and that access to the best opportunities continues to be moulded by social class, and not just educational credentials, instead provides further support for the 'alternative' view of a positional conflict for graduate jobs (Tholen, 2012; Brown, Power, Tholen and Allouch, 2014). Third, the findings contribute to debates about socio-economic reproduction by showing that the classed patterns of advantage and disadvantage already evident in

the education system extend well into the graduate labour market (Roberts, 2009; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984). Although academic ability and credentials do play their part, the fact that those from more advantaged backgrounds were more able to access the best opportunities – even when financial barriers were removed and when controlling for grades and university attended – suggests that social class still plays a significant role in determining outcomes.

Overall, the findings contribute a much more detailed and nuanced picture of graduate internships and what happens in practice that has until now been sorely lacking. Finally, the thesis also proposes a useful framework for distinguishing 'graduate internships' from other types of work experiences that can be used in future research on internships and the wider graduate labour market.

1.1 Background and rationale

With the expansion of higher education and recent increases in student fees paid for by students, graduate employability has become increasingly important for higher education policy (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills [BIS], 2009a; 2011). The graduate labour market has become increasingly competitive and positional and the mere possession of a degree is no longer enough to guarantee a graduate job (Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Brown et al., 2014). At the same time changes in the global economy and wider labour market has created a context in which employers increasingly seek flexibility in their workforce and are cautious about committing to labour market entrants long term (Kalleberg, 2011; Thompson, 2013). Theorists have noted that in this context traditional pathways into work have been fragmented and increasing numbers of young people face lengthening and individualised transitions into employment where the responsibility for developing employability and workplace capabilities have shifted from employers to individuals and other labour market institutions (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011). In this context, internships, work placements and extracurricular activities are some of the strategies individuals may adopt in order to improve their position in the scramble for the best jobs (Smith, 2010; Perlin, 2012; Bathmaker, Ingram and Waller, 2013; Tomlinson, 2008).

Graduate internships are a growing feature of the UK labour market (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development [CIPD], 2010a, 2015b). The practice has received considerable attention in the media[1], but until recently the topic has remained under-researched. Prior to 2009 research on internships was confined to three main areas: 1) research, mainly in the USA, looking at employment and developmental outcomes of work placement schemes attached to particular courses, industries or subjects (e.g. Hurst and Good, 2010; Divine, Linrud, Miller and Wilson, 2007; Gault, Leach and Duey, 2010; Callanan and Benzig, 2004); 2) policy research in the UK discussing the potential benefits and drawbacks of graduate internships, particularly unpaid ones (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009); and 3) evaluations of government supported schemes such as the Graduate Talent Pool (GTP) (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). These studies have either focused on what might be more appropriately termed 'work placements' that are carried out as part of a course of higher education, have not adequately distinguished between internships and other types of unpaid work, have relied on anecdotal evidence, or failed to control for other factors when attributing outcomes. More recently there has been increased interest in the academic literature on graduate internships, and whilst these studies have been illuminating, the majority have been confined to small qualitative studies focusing on particular industries, and so a number of questions remain unanswered. In particular, there has been to date no generalisable quantitative research looking at the extent of the practice, purported outcomes, or the role internships play in terms of social mobility and the wider graduate labour market.

This thesis addresses this gap in the literature on graduate internships by drawing on quantitative data from two sources. First, secondary data from the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey is used to examine broad patterns of participation in internships early on in the careers of graduates (a group identified in the literature as being particularly likely to engage in internships). The analysis investigates which groups of graduates are most/least likely to do internships after leaving university, in which sectors they are most commonplace, what internships are

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[1] For example: Williams, Z. (2012, March 21). Ripping off young interns is routine, but it's still wrong. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk ;
Unwin, L. (2012, December 6). Fierce competition in the job market drives unpaid internships. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk ;
De Grunwald, T. (2013, November 22). Interns: All work No Pay. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk

like, why graduates take up their internships and how they find out about them. The second source of data is a bespoke sample survey of graduates two to six years after graduation. Focusing on creative and mass communications graduates (two areas identified in the secondary analysis where internships were particularly common and identified in the literature as being potentially problematic) the survey investigated: the extent of internships; patterns of participation; views on usefulness and development; and labour market outcomes.

Although it is recognised that the term 'internships' has been used to describe a wide range of pre- and post-graduation work experiences and that a variety of different terms have been used to refer to what might otherwise be considered as internships, the focus of the research is on 'graduate internships'. The issue of defining internships and distinguishing different types of work-related experiences from the point of view of research is discussed in chapter two However, three key distinguishing features of graduate internships can be seen as that they are work experiences that graduates engage in: 1) after leaving university (as opposed to while studying or as part of a course); 2) in order to work towards a particular goal or career aim; and 3) are not carried out for charitable or altruistic reasons.

1.2 Previous research

Prior to 2009 very little research had been carried out focusing on graduate internships in the UK. However, following the *Final Report of the Panel on Fair Access to the Professions* [PFAP] chaired by Alan Milburn MP (Milburn, 2009) there has been an increase in interest in the practice in both policy and academic debates.

A number of policy reports have looked at internships, primarily in terms of preparing graduates for the world of work, but also in terms of their role in relation to social mobility and/or socio-economic reproduction. Apart from the Milburn report, which looked at, among other things, the role internships play in access to the professions and social mobility, there have been: a number of policy briefings that have sought to highlight issues of potential exploitation, and lack of equality of access and social mobility (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Gerada, 2013); advice and guidance to employers from official sources and professional bodies (e.g. Gateways to the Professions Collaborative Forum [GPCF], 2011, 2013; CIPD, 2009, 2010b, 2015a); and two evaluations of government-backed internship schemes (Mellors-Bourne and

Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). While these studies provide some insights they have generally been based on anecdotal evidence, specific schemes that may not be representative of the wider practice, or have failed to control for other factors when attributing outcomes.

Prior to 2011 academic research on internships was largely confined to North America and most of this tended to focus on work placements carried out whilst at university or graduate schemes attached to particular courses, industries or occupations (e.g. Hurst and Good, 2010; Divine, et al., 2007; Gault, et al., 2010; Callanan and Benzig, 2004). More recently there have been some more illuminating qualitative studies, both in North America and the UK (e.g. McLeod, O'Donahoe, and Townley, 2011; Perlin, 2012; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Leonard, Halford and Bruce, 2016), all of which provide some useful insights about the practice of internships. However, these have tended to be relatively small qualitative studies that have focused on specific industries or contexts and so may not be generalisable to the wider practice of internships. The Futuretrack study has provided some generalisable quantitative data on internships (Purcell et al., 2012). However, analysis of participation was limited to variations by institution type and subject area leaving examination of participation patterns related to social class unstudied. Thus, overall there remains little in the way of detailed quantitative analysis of the extent of internships, their features, participation patterns or outcomes.

Leaving these gaps in the literature aside, as noted previously, the general picture that emerges is that of a kind of 'dual view' of the practice. Internships are seen as a way for individuals to improve their employability through gaining real-world experience that can help develop networks, confidence and industry-specific skills and knowledge, while also providing a low-cost way for employers to 'test' potential aspirants (CIPD, 2010b; GPCF, 2013; Milburn, 2009). At the same time, low and unpaid internships are seen as potentially exploitative and a barrier to social mobility as those from less privileged backgrounds are unlikely to be able to forgo wages for any considerable duration (Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). In this sense the advantages and disadvantages of internships are seen as two sides of the same coin. Even where internships are seen as potentially problematic they are assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, to improve employability relative to not doing one: a 'necessary step', 'rite of passage', or 'paying your dues' (Milburn, 2009; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). Hence the concerns about the affordability of unpaid internships for those from less privileged backgrounds. Thus,

internships are presented as a double-edged sword with both advantages and disadvantages (e.g. Gerada, 2013; Lawton and Potter, 2010). While most commentators see internships as having both, some tend to emphasise the former while others emphasise the latter. In this thesis, the term ‘dual view’ is used to reflect the double-edged, almost contradictory, nature of this view of internships, rather than referring to factions within the literature that emphasise either the positive or the negative aspects of the practice.

1.3 Research questions

The current research aims to address this gap by examining these two views of internships and locating the practice within wider debates about careers, labour market transitions and the graduate labour market. In particular, it aims to address the lack of reliable quantitative evidence on the emerging practice of graduate internships in the UK by asking the following questions:

1) To what extent is the practice of internships a feature of the graduate labour market, what forms do they take and what are the perceived benefits?

2) Are there issues around access to and participation in internships and do these have implications for fairness and social mobility?

3) What are the outcomes of engaging in graduate internships for individuals and do they improve interns’ positions in the UK graduate labour market?

1.4 Structure of this thesis

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter two reviews the literature on internships with a particular focus on the UK. Definitional issues are discussed and graduate internships are distinguished from other forms of work experience such as work placements and volunteering. The chapter then goes on to discuss what the literature tells us about the features and characteristics of internships, noting significant variation in terms of time commitment and duration, contribution and work expectations, training and development, and pay. Then the chapter examines literature that has attempted to estimate the extent of the practice, in what industries

or sectors they are common and who participates in them. Although little is known about the precise extent of internships concerns have been raised in the literature that some groups may be less able to access internships than others raising concerns about fairness and social mobility. The potential benefits of internships are then discussed in relation to individuals, employers and the wider labour market. The literature here suggests that internships are thought to help individuals develop skills, networks and employability, whilst helping employers in terms of recruitment and as a potential resource. However, the extent to which these benefits manifest in practice is unknown. The next section then discusses potential problems with internships identified in the literature, with concerns raised about exploitation, equality of access and social mobility and the extent to which internships really do confer the benefits that they are supposed to. The chapter concludes by summing up key themes from the literature and locating them within the wider context within which the practice is emerging. Gaps in the literature are identified and the research questions for the study are formulated.

Chapter three reviews the literature in relation to debates about labour market change, starting from early debates about the 'flexible firm' and 'new capitalism', and ending with discussions about labour market insecurity and flexibilisation. The chapter then goes on to review the evidence to support theories of labour market change and argues that although there is little evidence to support a seismic shift towards increased insecurity and precariousness predicted by some theorists, there is some evidence of a general creep towards more insecure and flexible forms of working. Drawing on recent theories the chapter concludes by arguing that this creeping insecurity is emblematic of a financialised capitalism that is increasingly concerned with profitability and therefore seeks flexibility in its workforce and is increasingly cautious about committing to, and investing in, labour market entrants. This shifts responsibility for training and development from employers to individuals and other labour market institutions such as the education system. The emergence of internships can be viewed as a manifestation of these pressures whereby graduates are expected to take responsibility for developing the skills needed to perform the job and employers can try out new recruits before committing to them long term.

Chapter four starts by outlining some of the key approaches to the study of career, narrowing to recent conceptualisations that locate the individual in his/her wider social context. These conceptualisations, it is argued, allow investigation of the individual and institutional face of careers, thus allowing the study of individual and structural aspects of internships. The chapter then moves on to highlight key themes

in the study of transitions from education to employment. It is argued that changes in the labour market and wider society, such as those discussed in chapter three, have led to fragmentation and lengthening of transitions for many young people and a shift in responsibility for navigating these from employers and labour market institutions to individuals. Finally, the chapter discusses changes in the graduate labour market which have resulted in an increasingly congested and positional labour market, where competition for the best jobs is not just based on educational credentials but also on a range of factors, often bound up with issues of social class. In this context the development and signalling of employability is increasingly important. The chapter concludes by arguing that internships can be seen as fitting in with these trends, and can be viewed as an emerging pathway into employment, albeit one with less certain outcomes than traditional pathways of the past, and as an attempt by graduates to forge meaningful careers in an increasingly competitive and positional labour market.

Chapter five sets out the research methodology employed in the current study. The first section sets out the theoretical approach adopted in the research. Drawing on several theoretical frameworks it is argued that the shared and intersubjective nature of socially constructed reality, combined with the essential temporality of ongoing processes of action provide the link between individuals and institutional structure. In this context quantitative and qualitative research methods are seen as complementary lines of enquiry. The chapter then goes on to detail the methods used in the study. Because the gaps in the literature on internships are predominantly quantitative in nature, the study employs a quantitative research methodology using data from two sources: 1) secondary analysis of data from the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey, and 2) data from a bespoke sample survey of graduates from creative arts and design (CAD) and mass communications and documentation (MCD) courses surveyed two to six years after graduation.

Chapter six reports on the secondary analysis of DLHE data for the 2011/12 graduating cohort, the first year of the survey to capture ‘internships’ as a separate employment category. The chapter examines what the DLHE can tell us about the practice of internships in relation to the three overarching research questions of the current study. The chapter is broken down into six main subsections reflecting what separate sections of the survey can tell us in relation to the overarching research questions. The chapter then concludes by summing up the main findings from the secondary analysis and relating these to the literature on internships. The analysis

reveals that internships are a small but significant part of the graduate labour market at six months after leaving university and are particularly common in some subject areas, industries and occupations. Some notable differences emerge between paid and unpaid internships with paid internships tending to be accessed through more formal routes, to be more likely to be related to career plans and to be more likely to require a higher level of qualification. Finally, the analysis provides evidence that some groups are more likely to engage in internships than others with age, grades, institution type and social class all being related to participation in internships.

Chapter seven reports on the findings of a bespoke sample survey of CAD and MCD graduates surveyed two to six years after finishing their course. As two subject areas with high incidence of internships, also highlighted in the literature as areas where internships are thought to be a key route into careers in the industry, focusing on these two areas provides insights into the role this emerging practice plays in a changing labour market. The chapter looks at what happens after six months and further examines the extent of the practice, the perceived benefits of internships, explores patterns of participation and examines the proposition that internships improve the labour market position of graduates by looking at three main labour market outcomes. The chapter concludes by summarising the main findings from the survey and proposes how these findings fit in with the view of internships presented in the literature and wider debates about the graduate labour market.

Finally, chapter eight draws together the findings from both sources of data in order to build a wider picture about how the practice of graduate internships fits in with the graduate labour market. The chapter discusses the findings from both sources in relation to each of the three main research questions and then discusses how these findings combine to form a wider picture about the role internships play in their institutional context. Four substantive findings are outlined and their contribution to three key debates in the sociology of employment literature are then discussed. The chapter then goes on to discuss the limitations of the research and the implications the research has for theory, research and policy and practice. The chapter concludes by summarising the main findings from the research and stating the contributions of the research. It is argued that the research challenges the ‘dual view’ of internships and in doing so contributes to debates about the nature and functioning of the graduate labour market, transitions from education to employment linked to labour market change, and processes of socio-economic reproduction.

2 Internships and interns

As noted previously, despite a growing level of interest the practice of internships remains understudied in the academic literature in the UK. In particular, there has been a lack of any detailed quantitative investigation of the extent of the practice, or of the implications internships have for individuals in terms of development and their wider position in the graduate labour market. What little research there has been on the topic, whilst being informative, has generally: consisted of small qualitative studies or has been based on anecdotal evidence (e.g. Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Leonard et al., 2016; Lawton and Potter, 2010); has been carried out outside the UK (e.g. Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015); has focused on specific schemes or industries (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011); or has failed to control for other factors when attributing outcomes (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Thus, a number of questions remain unanswered. For example, despite attracting considerable media attention little is known about how many people engage in internships or what they look like in practice. In addition, despite widespread speculation about the potential benefits and drawbacks of internships, it is not clear to what extent either are played out in practice. For example, do internships help individuals to develop skills and employability and/or improve their position in the labour market? Or are they just a way for employers to get free/cheap labour that excludes some people from getting a foothold in attractive industries? Do they act as a mechanism of socio-economic reproduction and obstruct social mobility? Or are they just an extension of a credential based labour market that is essentially meritocratic?

This chapter examines the literature on internships to date and highlights what is known and where the gaps are. The chapter also discusses the literature in relation to the two faces of internships. On the one hand, internships are thought to provide ‘real-world’ experience, help develop skills and employability and allow employers to

'test' potential recruits (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; GPCF, 2013; CIPD, 2010c). While at the same time, there are concerns about their impact on social mobility and exploitation of vulnerable labour market entrants (Frenette, 2013; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Leonard et al, 2016; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Gerada, 2013). The chapter starts by discussing how internships might be defined and distinguished from other types of work and work-related experiences. For the purposes of the current research, graduate internships are distinguished from work experience carried out whilst at university and from voluntary work that people may carry out for altruistic reasons. One of the defining features of internships that can be inferred from the literature, is that they are something that people do in order to work towards a particular goal or career aim. The chapter then goes on to outline the features and characteristics of internships as presented in the literature. The literature shows that internships can take a variety of forms ranging from formal, structured positions involving challenging and developmental work, to informal, unstructured roles involving routine and mundane tasks with little developmental benefit. They can be full- or part-time, paid or unpaid, and can last from a few weeks to over a year but tend to be temporary in nature.

The chapter then goes on to discuss the potential benefits of internships as identified in the literature. It is argued that internships are thought to help individuals to develop skills, networks and employability and to improve their position in the labour market by providing relevant real-world experience that can be used to enhance a CV. At the same time they are thought to help employers gain fresh insights, enthusiastic workers and an opportunity to try out potential new recruits. The chapter then goes on to discuss some of the potential problems with the practice of internships that have been identified in the literature. Among the key concerns are that the practice of unpaid and low-paid internships may: 1) exploit vulnerable labour market entrants and negatively impact current workers by devaluing labour and putting downward pressure on pay, and 2) act to exclude labour market entrants who cannot afford to work for no or low pay for any significant length of time from certain key industries, thus acting as a mechanism for socio-economic reproduction. Paid internships, however, are seen as unproblematic.

Finally, the chapter concludes by summarising the key messages coming out of the literature and highlighting where there are gaps. It is argued overall, that the literature paints a dual picture of internships whereby internships are thought to help develop employability and help labour market entrants get a 'foot in the door' to competitive industries, whilst at the same time they present an obstacle to social mobility

because some people cannot afford to work for low or no pay for any substantial length of time. However, the extent to which either is the case has yet to be demonstrated empirically. While qualitative studies lend support to the above 'dual view' of internships, a lack of reliable quantitative research means that we have little idea about: the true extent of the practice, their features, how many are paid and unpaid, whether some groups are genuinely excluded, or whether they really do lead to more favourable labour market outcomes.

2.1 What are internships?

As noted previously, despite growing interest in internships in recent years there appears to be no one agreed definition of what an 'internship' actually is, either in law, in practice or in research (Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b). The term has been used to describe a vast array of different work and work-related experiences ranging from, temporary entry level positions involving mundane tasks such as stuffing envelopes, 'shuttling coffee' in a newsroom or 'flipping burgers' at Disney World, to more structured and developmental experiences such as working on election campaigns and contributing to news stories or live advertising campaigns (Perlin, 2012; McLeod et al, 2011; Milburn, 2009; Frenette, 2013). Similarly, a range of alternative terms have been used to describe comparable positions, including amongst others: 'industrial placement', 'volunteer', 'volunteer worker', 'work experience', 'work placement' and 'summer placement' (CIPD, 2010b). That there is no one clearly defined set of practices that can be termed 'internship', and that the term is often used to describe positions that arguably were previously called something else, probably reflects the relatively emergent nature of the practice in the UK over recent years and that the practice has yet to become institutionalised in labour market practice. This section discusses the various ways in which internships have been conceptualised in order to highlight the defining characteristics that set internships apart from other types of work-related experiences. Although it is recognised that individuals will have differing views of what an internship is, and that there are a range of different practices that may be termed 'internships', the objective here is not to provide a definitive definition, but rather to suggest some ways in which internships may be distinguished from other similar work-related practices. Internships are discussed in relation to three main aspects, namely: the goal or objectives of internships for individuals; legal and other considerations distinguishing

internships from voluntary work; and the timing of when people engage in internships distinguishing internships from other types of work placements and experience. Although it is recognised that considerable overlap exists between what might be termed internships and these other practices, and that the terms may be used interchangeably at times, it is argued that there are features that may help set internships apart.

2.1.1 Internships as a means to an end

Despite a lack of any formal definition, or any real defining characteristics, one defining feature that has been suggested in the literature is that internships are something that individuals engage in as a means to an end. Namely, in order to get a foot in the door to a particular occupation or industry, to learn more about the industry and to work towards a particular career goal. For example, Frenette (2013) highlights learning by working as a defining feature of internships. And whilst noting that internships can take a range of forms from 'flipping burgers' to working on election campaigns and can have of a range of characteristics – paid/unpaid, with/without a training component, etc. – Perlin (2012) argues that at least one common expectation amongst interns is that internships perform a "cultural and professional function" in that they are "a rite of passage" or a step on the ladder that is 'relevant' to ones' career (p25). The 'rite of passage' view was also evident in Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study of creative interns in Canada, where interviewees also saw internships in terms of 'a necessary step', 'paying their dues' and 'playing the game' all of which evoke the idea that internships were something that aspirants had to go though in order to access careers in the industry. Even where interns engage in an internship in order to 'try out' a particular industry to see what it is like, as some informants in Frenette's (2013) study reported, it could be argued that this still represents a career-related motivation.

Policy research in the UK has also tended to highlight career goals or aims as a defining feature. For example, Lawton and Potter (2010) state that the "aim is for interns to gain hands-on experience of working in a particular industry, which often makes an invaluable addition to their CV" (p5). The argument that internships are something that individuals do in order to work towards particular career goals is also evident in government guidance on internships. For example, guidance from the *Gateways to the Professions Collaborative Forum* (GPCF), set up in response to the

Milburn report in order to promote access to the professions, states that an internship "is where an individual works so as to gain relevant professional experience before embarking on a career" (GPCF, 2013, p9), further distinguishing them from full-time or vacation work "unrelated to the pursuit of a professional career" (p10) and work "undertaken by students to finance their studies unrelated to the pursuit of a professional career" (p10). The addition of the clause 'unrelated to the pursuit of a professional career' in these two exclusions may be ambiguous to some extent, as the extent to which a job is unrelated to any given career may be open to interpretation. However, in the context of the guidelines it is probably intended to exclude jobs that are in an occupation or sector unrelated to the one that the individual wishes to form a career in in the longer term. In Leonard et al's (2016) investigation of internships in the voluntary sector, even though interns in the sector were largely motivated by ethical and political considerations, promise of a career in the sector was often a key attraction.

Evidence from an evaluation of the government-backed Graduate Internship (GI) scheme appears to support the idea that internships are something that individuals engage in order to work towards a particular career and improve employability. The most commonly cited reasons for registering on the scheme and for applying for internships were: to gain relevant experience for their CV; gain work experience and improve employability; to develop skills; and because it 'suited career plans' (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Creative interns in Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study cited similar motivations, from gaining hands on experience and building contacts to simply being able to add a line on their resume/CV, although the extent to which these factors were motivators varied from person to person depending on their view of the labour market.

In all of the above cited literature internships took a range of forms, and could occur at various stages of an individual's career. However, there was considerable agreement that people engage in internships in order to work towards a particular career aim. Thus, it could be argued that this is one of the defining features of internships.

2.1.2 Internships vs voluntary work

Despite many internships being titled 'voluntary' positions it could be argued that there are two ways in which they should be distinguished from voluntary work. The first of these relates to work expectations of interns and the second relates to motivations for taking up the position. In the past there has been some confusion in the literature about where internships fit in with current legislation and whether internships should be paid. An example of this can be seen in some of the early guidance from the CIPD to employers which suggested that National Minimum Wage (NMW) legislation contained "a significant loophole" that makes it "perfectly legal to employ an intern without paying them" (CIPD, 2010b, p12). This can be seen as stemming from the interpretation of NMW legislation (and subsequent National Living Wage [NLW] amendments)[1] that states that all 'workers' should be paid at least the NMW (or NLW) unless one of a number of exemptions applies, most relevant of which is an exemption for "volunteers or voluntary workers"[2]. According to official guidance to employers a 'worker' is:

"someone who works under a contract of employment or any other kind of contract (express or implied) whereby they undertake to do work personally for someone else (and they are not genuinely self-employed)" (BIS, 2009b)[3]

In the legislation, a 'voluntary worker' is defined as "a worker employed by a charity, a voluntary organisation, an associated funding body or a statutory body" (National Minimum Wage Act 1998, c. 39, s. 44(1)). A 'volunteer' is not so clearly defined in the regulations, but has no form of contract (express or implied), is under no obligation to carry out work and does not expect to receive any reward (BIS, 2009b). It is perhaps the 'volunteer' exclusion that a number of commentators have interpreted to mean that if an internship is 'voluntary' and there is no expectation for them to work certain times or carry out specified tasks then the intern need not be paid. However, the

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[1] National Minimum Wage Act 1998, National Minimum Wage (Amendment) Regulations 2016. Currently set at an hourly rate of £7.20 for those aged 24 years and over, £6.70 for 21 to 23 year olds, £5.30 for 18 to 20 year olds and £3.87 for under 18s. A special rate of £3.30 per hour applies to apprentices under the age of 19 years old or those in the first year of their apprenticeship (retrieved from the Government's website on 23rd June 2016: https://www.gov.uk/national-minimum-wage-rates).

[2] https://www.gov.uk/national-minimum-wage/who-gets-the-minimum-wage

[3] 'Internships and National Minimum Wage– Frequently Asked Questions'. Downloaded on 16/04/2013 from: www.agcas.org.uk/assets/download?file=1202&parent=464

official guidance notes that the ‘volunteer’ exemption was intended to “allow people who genuinely wish to work without profit for good causes to continue to do so without fear of qualifying for the NMW” (BIS, 2009b, p2). Within this it is implied that for volunteers the main motivation is to work ‘without profit’ and for a ‘good cause’. Conversely, as argued previously in this chapter, in the case of internships the main aim is to be able to gain experience in order to work towards a particular career goal (e.g. Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; GPCF, 2013; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Thus it could be argued that motivations are another distinguishing feature between internships and voluntary work.

Similarly, more recent guidance from the CIPD is at pains to make the moral, practical and legal case for paying interns at least the NMW, explicitly distinguishing between internships and volunteers, and linking the latter to charitable work and the voluntary sector (CIPD, 2015a). In addition, as Lawton and Potter (2010) point out, in the majority of cases it is likely that interns are expected to turn up at particular times and perform certain tasks, and that at the very least there is some sort of unwritten agreement to that effect. Indeed, a test case in the UK brought to an employment tribunal by intern Nicola Vetta against London Dream Motion Pictures Ltd found that the employer had been in contravention of NMW legislation by not paying the NMW even though the position was advertised as ‘expenses only’ (cited in Lawton and Potter, 2010).

This suggests distinctions between interns and volunteers and voluntary workers on two levels. Firstly, internships should be distinguished from ‘volunteers’ to the extent that they are truly able to come and go as they please and/or are expected to carry out set tasks, and depending upon which sector they work in (not-for-profit or otherwise). Secondly, as the distinction in the legislation is intended to exempt those who genuinely want to give their time for free, reasons for taking up the post can be seen as another distinguishing feature, though it is recognised that there may some overlap at times, particularly for those wishing to pursue a career in the voluntary sector (Leonard et al, 2016). However, it has been argued elsewhere that true volunteers should be distinguished from interns in the sector, and that the latter should be paid (Gerada, 2013).

2.1.3 Internships vs placements and work experience

In the same way that the term ‘voluntary’ has sometimes been applied to internships, the term ‘internship’ has at times been used to describe a variety of practices that may more commonly be described as work experience or work placements (CIPD, 2010b). And while there may be many commonalities between internships and these sorts of experiences, it can be argued that it is useful to distinguish between them, particularly in the UK context where the practice is perhaps less established than in North America.

As was noted in chapter one, much of the research that has been carried out on internships in North America has focused on work experiences carried out whilst at university, often as part of a course or for formal credit (e.g. Hurst and Good, 2010; Paulins, 2008; Divine et al., 2007; Wilton, 2012). However, a number of authors have noted differences between what might often be termed internships in the North American context, but might otherwise be called ‘work placements’ in the UK. Perlin (2012), noting the different uses of the term between the UK and the USA, argues that the two types of experiences have slightly different implications. A sentiment shared by Lawton and Potter (2010) who argue that work experiences carried out as part of a course: a) have different financial implications because they are generally covered by the usual sources of student finance, and b) because they are usually formalised, well-structured and supported by the student’s institution. This may not be the case for internships that graduates may undertake under their own initiative without external support. Official guidance on internships also notes that ‘work shadowing’ and work experience of less than one year in duration that is carried out as part of a HE course is exempt from NMW regulations, whereas generally internships are not (GPCF, 2013; BIS, 2009b). And so work placements and work experience occupy a potentially different legal position compared to internships.

Others have also noted the different usage of the two terms in the UK, and while noting that the term ‘internship’ has been used to describe both kinds of experience, more recently it has tended to be reserved for those carried out after university (CIPD, 2015a; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). So, while the term has been used to describe both practices, there is an argument for maintaining a distinction when examining them in more depth as they may have different labour market implications.

2.1.4 Summing up definitions

These conceptions of what an internship is, although perhaps not comprising a definition in the strictest sense of the word, do at least provide some idea as to how internships might be defined and what sets them apart from other types of work-related experience. Although it is recognised that there is some overlap between internships and these other experiences, it could be argued that internships:

1) are something people engage in with the express hope that it will enhance their chances of getting on in a chosen career, industry or profession;

2) can be distinguished from volunteering or voluntary work both in terms of their aims and in terms of the legal position as relates to NMW regulations (although it is recognised that some interns may be doing their internships in the voluntary sector);

3) can be distinguished from 'work experience' or 'work placements' undertaken as part of a course whilst studying at college or university, as these have different implications in terms of financial and institutional support structures (although work placements may at times be labelled as internships).

The extent to which 'internships' can be truly distinguished from 'voluntary workers' or may overlap to some degree is hard to establish, as this will depend in some measure on the individual circumstances of the position in question. Where an intern has the licence to come and go as they please and is under no obligation to perform work tasks, they might truly be considered 'voluntary'. However, some have suggested that this is rarely the case (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010).

2.2 What do internships look like?

Having briefly discussed some of the issues related to defining and conceptualising what is meant by the term 'internships' this section attempts to draw on the literature in order to provide a more coherent picture of some of the varying features of internships and what they look like. Some attempts at doing this have already been made (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b). Drawing on these sources and

upon evidence garnered from the two evaluations of government-backed schemes and elsewhere, this section attempts to build a picture of the ways that internships manifest themselves in the UK labour market, focussing on: time commitment and duration; contribution and work expectations; training and development and pay.

2.2.1 Time commitment and duration

Internships can be full-time or part-time and can last for almost any length of time, although the majority of the literature suggests that they are normally temporary or fixed-term positions. Lawton and Potter (2010) suggest, from their discussions with interns and employers, that most interns tend to have an agreement to work set hours and that internships tend to last for "at least three months and can last for six or twelve months" (p4), but note that in some instances they can last for just a few weeks. Although the kinds of typical durations suggested by Lawton and Potter from their 'anecdotal' evidence are mirrored in other research (e.g. Milburn, 2009) the length of internships may vary considerably depending on the type of internship, the degree of formality, whether it is part of a wider scheme, and from sector to sector. For example, internships included in the HEFCE funded Graduate Internship scheme range from four weeks to eight months – but were usually eight to twelve weeks (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011), while internships in the GTP ranged from one to twelve months but were usually either three or six months in duration (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). McLeod et al. (2011) found that in the advertising industry internships (or 'placements' as they are known in advertising) tended to be on the shorter side lasting anything from two weeks to three months on average, although it was reportedly commonplace for 'creatives' attempting to get into the industry to go from placement to placement building up their portfolio until they find a permanent job, which was reported to take up to 18 months on average. This idea of serial internships was not uncommon in the literature (e.g. Perlin, 2012; Low Pay Commission [LPC], 2011). And there would appear to be some evidence of this in qualitative studies. In Canada's creative industries some interns appear to have to 'cycle' through several four-month long unpaid internships for over a year before finding a paid position (Shade and Jacobson, 2015), and in the UK some creative interns were prepared to work for up to 1,000 hours for free in order to "ingratiate themselves with the industry" (Siebert and Wilson, 2013, p715).

2.2.2 Contribution of interns and work expectations

In terms of contribution and work expectations, much of the literature appears to suggest that in the majority of cases interns tend to be expected to carry out specific duties and to perform the kinds of tasks that might otherwise be carried out by someone else in the organisation. Lawton and Potter (2010) report that “interns are usually required to complete specified pieces of work and to work towards set goals or deadlines” and that they “usually conduct work which would otherwise be done by someone else, probably a paid member of staff” (p5). They also note that interns would normally get involved in other everyday activities in the workplace, such as: attending meetings, getting involved in projects, and preparing briefings for other employees. Thus, implying that the work that they do might be considered as no different to any other entry level employee. The sorts of tasks and duties performed by interns appear to vary considerably from employer to employer and depending upon a range of factors such as the industry and the degree of formality of the position itself. Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) report that within the GTP programme activities ranged from the mundane, such as the shuttling of coffee in the newsroom, so vividly described by Perlin in his book, to more structured project work and developmental work experience.

In many cases interns are involved in the day-to-day commercial work of the organisation, making direct and important contributions. For example, McLeod et al. (2011) found that ‘placement teams’ might be expected to work on ‘live’ briefs, the daily work of an advertising agency, with the hope that sooner or later they will put one together that will be good enough to be used in an advertising campaign and get them noticed. Similarly, Milburn (2009) found evidence of interns carrying out the same work that other workers might be expected to do, citing as an example, evidence presented by the National Union of Journalists which suggested work carried out by interns could find its way to being published, despite interns often being unpaid. The NUJ’s evidence further suggested that in many cases organisations could not function without the input of interns. It was further argued that in many cases interns were getting involved in the normal work of the organisation, sometimes to the detriment of any kind of developmental activity “with interns undertaking low-grade, repetitive and non-developmental tasks” (Milburn, 2009, p103) while in other cases interns were turning out work that was of a marketable standard without necessarily being paid for it, suggesting that in some cases employers were simply using interns as cheap or free labour that would otherwise

would have fallen to a paid employee. Siebert and Wilson (2013) also found evidence of employers appearing to use interns as a cheap source of labour in their examination of unpaid internships in the creative industries, impacting on the wages of existing staff and wider workers in the sector.

In many cases interns may be working without any explicit contract or indication from the employer to say that they expect them to do a certain amount of work, but even where this is not the case interns are often likely to take it upon themselves to try to impress and they are unlikely to want to 'kick up a fuss' for fear of getting a reputation as a 'troublemaker', as others have argued (Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; LPC, 2011; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). This contradiction among the types of internship experiences out there highlights the close relationship between the sorts of work tasks, development and pay, whereby, as has been noted by researchers, those internships that pay tend to be more structured, involving more challenging tasks, and thus providing better developmental benefits (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Thus, it would seem that there is no one formula for the types of tasks and sorts of contribution interns make to an organisation and that these can range from routine and mundane to more developmental and challenging, but that in most cases they are likely to contribute to daily working life.

2.2.3 **Training and development**

The main stated aims and functions of internships are the development of skills and employability, and to prepare labour market entrants for the workplace (Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; GPCF, 2013). While it should be noted that neither of these two interrelated concepts are not unproblematic, as is discussed later in this chapter, the main thing to note here is that the idea is that internships should provide interns with opportunities to learn 'on the job' skills and behaviours, and in doing so will be viewed as more employable by employers (GPCF, 2013). The extent to which many internships live up to this aim may vary, as has been noted above. This is particularly likely to be the case where interns are expected to carry out routine and mundane tasks. Lawton and Potter (2010) note that:

"There is some anecdotal evidence which has led to concerns about the quality of some internships, particularly those that involve only the most basic and generic

office tasks (photocopying, tea-making, booking appointments and so on) with few opportunities for interns to 'learn by doing'." (Lawton and Potter, 2010, p6).

Indeed, in some sorts of internships development may often be left down to the initiative of the intern to take into their own hands. For example, in McLeod et al's (2011) account of internships in the advertising industry the emphasis in terms of development and learning tended to be on experiential learning or learning by doing, and was almost entirely the responsibility of interns (i.e. 'placement teams'). Informants to their study emphasised the importance of learning from getting involved in projects, or 'briefs', and immersing themselves in the culture and community of the industry. Formal learning did take place in the form of external college courses, but these were expected to be carried out on top of their everyday work outside of their already long work hours (McLeod et al., 2011).

Again, the expectation that interns will learn for themselves through and whilst working and gaining experience is a common theme in some of the literature (CIPD, 2010b). Indeed, the idea that interns will gain the sort of 'employability' skills that some would argue cannot be learnt in an academic environment is central to the idea of work experience and internships (e.g. Milburn, 2009). However, evaluations of government-backed internship schemes, as well as policy guidance, suggests that internships are much more likely to end in satisfactory outcomes, both for the intern and for the organisation, if it involves some structured development activity and monitoring and evaluation (Milburn, 2009; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Indeed, evidence from these sources suggests that many internships do involve this type of activity. For example, 82 per cent of interns on the GI scheme and 83 per cent on the GTP scheme said they received some form of role-specific or general workplace training (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). And, as will be detailed later in this chapter, there was evidence that quite a number of interns, but by no means all, on both of these schemes felt that they had developed a range of what have come to be termed 'employability skills', particularly the more generic skills like team working, communication and problem solving. However, it may be worth noting here that both of the above schemes were government supported and as such may be more formal and not entirely representative of the wider practice. For example, the GI scheme was publicly funded by HEFCE with internships being effectively subsidised in many cases and HEIs running the scheme at the local level normally offered support to both interns and employers (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Similarly, advice to employers on the GTP website states that internships "should provide graduates with

meaningful and worthwhile work experience, giving them the chance to enhance their employability and career prospects" and that they "should be structured to maximise the benefits for both you and the graduate"[1].

Some of the literature suggest that all too often internships do not involve enough structured and/or challenging work that would provide the sort of development sought (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Perlin, 2012). Indeed, on the GI scheme it would appear that factors such as the duration of the internship may have some impact on the level of skills development involved, with internships lasting between nine and 24 weeks appearing to be better for development than either shorter or longer internships (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). In Frenette's (2013) study staff reported being reticent to train interns, who were often on relatively short placements, beyond doing the more obvious and mundane tasks, because by the time they had trained them to do more complex tasks their internship would be over. At the same time, interns in the same study often complained about the lack of supervision, often being expected to be able to just get on with things. However, much of the guidance and policy research has suggested that the degree of formality of the internship and the level of input and preparation from the employer can have a significant effect on the level of development involved, with both parties likely to reap greater benefits if employers invest a greater level of effort in the internship (CIPD, 2010b, 2015a; Milburn, 2009; BIS, 2011).

2.2.4 **Pay**

As has been mentioned previously pay has been a highly contentious issue in relation to internships, and it has been argued that in many cases, if not most, the work that UK interns perform and the expectation of them to carry out that work means that they might reasonably be classified as 'worker' under the NMW regulations, entitling them to be paid at least NMW (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). However, leaving the legal arguments aside, there is evidence that a considerable number of internships are unpaid as has already been noted (see

[1] Accessed at 16.25 on Tues 9th April 2013 from: (http://graduatetalentpool.bis.gov.uk/cms/ShowPage/Home_page/About_the_Graduate_Talent_Pool/What_are_internships_/p!eXbbcmd).

Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009), and in some sectors there appears to be some acceptance among aspirants that they are going to have to work unpaid if they want to establish a career in the sector (Leonard et al., 2016; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; McLeod et al., 2011). That is not, by any means, to say that all or even the majority are unpaid and some attempts have been made to try to get an idea of the extent to which internships are paid or unpaid. For example, in the 2010 CIPD annual *Training and Development Survey*, a survey of UK employers with 724 respondents, over three-fifths (63 per cent) of employers surveyed reported paying interns at least minimum wage, while the remaining 37 per cent did not (CIPD, 2010b). However, as Lawton and Potter (2010) point out, by CIPD's own admission the sample for the survey was skewed towards larger organisations which may limit the generalisability of the findings. In addition, the figures quoted refer to employers not individuals so it is hard to make any real assessment of how many actual interns were paid NMW or not.

Both of the evaluations of government funded internship schemes published data on the remuneration levels of internships that graduates participated in. Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) reported that of the participants from the GI scheme who were surveyed: one-third said they were paid less than £200 per week, 37 per cent £200-£250, 18 per cent £250-£300, eight per cent more than £300, and five per cent were either not paid at all or received only expenses. Whereas, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) reported that in the GTP 64 per cent of those surveyed said that their internship was paid, while 36 per cent were unpaid: 31 per cent expenses only, and five per cent 'wholly unpaid'. As has been indicated elsewhere, there were variations by industry in terms of the likelihood that internships were paid, with Government and Manufacturing and Engineering coming out on top (98 and 85 per cent paid respectively) while those least likely to pay were: Charities (14 per cent), Creative and Cultural (37 per cent), and Media-related (44 per cent). The difference in the proportion of unpaid or expenses only internships between the two government funded schemes is quite striking on first inspection. However, this likely to reflect the ways in which the two schemes were run, with the GI scheme effectively subsidising interns at a rate of around £1,600 per intern, involving a greater level of involvement from HEIs and, in most cases, HEIs running the scheme at the local level stipulated that NMW be paid to interns (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Whereas the GTP scheme is more of a market-driven, online forum to facilitate the advertisement of internships, and while guidance to employers makes reference to

legal requirements regarding the NMW, it is effectively left up to employers to decide whether or not to pay interns (see previous link).

As mentioned previously, to some extent it is hard to say how representative either of these government-backed schemes are in terms of estimating how many internships are paid or unpaid, particularly because of the guidance given on pay in these schemes, but also because by definition any internship advertised through these schemes is likely to be more formal than internships accessed through less formal means, such as personal or family contacts. A perhaps more reliable estimate has been provided by the Sutton Trust in their policy briefing on internships (Sutton Trust, 2014). Using data from the 2012/13 Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey it was estimated that nearly one third (31 per cent) of graduates engaged in internships six months after leaving university were unpaid. However, the DLHE only provides details of graduates' 'main' job, and only surveys graduates six months after finishing their course. Thus, internships undertaken after six months or as a secondary job would not be counted. In addition, from discussions with researchers who worked on the project it was not clear whether the analysis adequately controlled for item non-response, which is an issue with the relevant questions in the DLHE.

The above attempts at quantifying the extent of unpaid internships are helpful in that they do give some idea of the extent of the issue. However, even if the incidence of unpaid internships is relatively low, at least in some sectors, for those who do have to undertake unpaid internships the impact can be significant. As mentioned above, many of the 'creatives' interviewed in McLeod et al's (2011) investigation of career trajectories in the advertising industry reported working for nothing, or just travel costs during placements, and 'many' described struggling with the combined pressure of working on placements, trying to fit in with the community, and training at the same time. They also described "strong feelings of anxiety, depression, and even desperation... as they faced uncertainty and financial hardship and became absorbed in a world that was alien to their friends and family" (p122). In addition, there are concerns that the practice of unpaid or low-paid internships may have considerable implications for participation in internships, equality of access and social mobility, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

The question of whether internships are paid or unpaid also has implications in relation to two other key issues: quality and ethical considerations. In relation to the former, it has been suggested that whether internships are paid or not may have

implications for the quality and potential developmental benefits. Some have suggested that paid internships are more likely to be more formal, encourage engagement and provide greater benefits to both parties (e.g. Gerada, 2013; CIPD, 2015a). However, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) suggest this may not necessarily be the case. In their evaluation of the GTP they found that similar proportions of both paid and unpaid interns reported receiving some form of training during their placement and that employability and skills development "seemed largely not to depend on whether they were paid or not" (p64). Thus, from the literature to date the link between pay and quality is not entirely clear. In relation to wider ethical questions related to pay there has been some debate about: a) whether or not it is fair to expect interns to work for free given the purported employability benefits, b) whether internships comprise a form of exploitation of vulnerable labour market entrants, and c) whether unpaid internships present a barrier to social mobility and access to key industries. These wider ethical questions are discussed later on in this chapter. However, from the literature presented here it is clear that a considerable number of internships do appear to be unpaid and that the practice of unpaid internships appears to have wider implications that go beyond the immediate financial conditions of interns.

2.3 Participation in internships

Having discussed issues related to defining internships and having outlined the characteristics of internships the next task for this chapter is to attempt to explore what is known about interns in terms of participation: how many people engage in internships, whether there are any particular patterns of participation, and whether some people appear to be excluded or not. In actual fact there is little evidence in the literature that can be used to answer these questions authoritatively. However, there is some evidence that can help give an idea about the sorts of people that engage in internships and that can help give a vague idea of the likely extent of internships. In particular, statutory surveys and estimates made in some of the policy literature may give us some idea of the extent of the practice, and data from the two evaluations of government-backed schemes may provide some indication of patterns of participation.

The usual data sources that can be relied upon in order to estimate numbers of people in the population with certain employment or occupational status are the census (depending upon when it was most recently carried out) and the Labour Force Survey (LFS). However, in the case of internships neither of these two data sources adequately capture 'internships' per se. This is because within the questions about employment status there is no distinct category that can be used to isolate internships from other quite different employment situations. A detailed discussion of this can be found in chapter five of this thesis. However, the lack of reliable data available from statutory datasets has arguably left the practice open to considerable speculation.

Firstly, in the CIPD's Spring Labour Market Outlook survey of employers (CIPD, 2010a) it was suggested that as many as one in five employers were planning to recruit interns during the six months leading up to September 2010. Extrapolating from this, Lawton and Potter (2010) estimate that this is equivalent to around 280,800 organisations across the UK. However, this estimate should be treated with caution as CIPD's survey only included their members and may not be fully representative of all organisations in the UK. Also, it is not clear what method Lawton and Potter used to extrapolate the figures. Separately, in a study focussing on the early career experiences of graduates from creative arts, design and media courses it was estimated that 40 per cent of creative graduates had done some form of unpaid/voluntary work experience at some point in the first four to six years after graduation, and nine per cent were doing so at the time of the survey in autumn 2008 (Ball, Pollard and Stanley, 2010). For those graduates who were engaged in unpaid or voluntary work the majority were combining this type of work with another work-related activity such as a permanent job or self-employment. Although in this study it is impossible to tell how many of these experiences were actually internships[1], these findings do seem to suggest that unpaid and voluntary working may be more common in some sectors than others, a finding that is mirrored in some of the research cited above (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). Certainly, Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) found that places advertised on the GTP in such sectors were often oversubscribed and, as found by Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011), internships in the schemes they evaluated were more likely to be unpaid if they were in attractive sectors such as creative arts, media and fashion.

[1] Some may have been reporting work carried out on their own creative practice.

The two evaluations of government funded graduate internship schemes also attempted to estimate the extent of internships and internship opportunities at any given point in time. Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) estimated that during 2010 there were likely to be around 35,000 vacancies for internships advertised, much lower than the 280,800 employers offering internships estimated by Lawton and Potter. On the other hand if the number of internship positions approaches anywhere near this figure this would suggest that there may be many more internships falling outside of the government-backed schemes than there are within them. From Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC's (2011) calculations it was estimated that of the 35,000 around 16,000 were being offered through the two main government funded schemes covered by the report (i.e. the Graduate Internship scheme and the Graduate Talent Pool). However, with funding for some of these schemes ending in 2010, they estimated that vacancies in 2011 were likely to be lower at around 15-20,000.

Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) estimated that around 1,440 internships had been undertaken by graduates registering in the first six months of the Graduate Talent Pool scheme. Again the majority of graduates signing up to the scheme had graduated in the previous two years. Those participating in the scheme tended to be high achievers and/or from the more prestigious institutions, such as Russell Group universities, and students such as these tended to be more successful in applying for vacancies. Although, graduates from ethnic minorities were overrepresented in terms of registrations to the scheme, there was evidence to suggest that they were less successful in applying for positions. This mirrors findings from the evaluation of the Graduate Internship scheme mentioned above where 78 per cent of first degree graduates supported by the scheme had graduated with a first or upper-second class degree (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). In both of the main schemes covered in the above two studies there would appear to be some indication that graduates are engaging in internships relatively soon after graduation and that those with higher grades and/or from more prestigious institutions fair better in competition for places. This along with evidence from both of these studies showing that applicants from black and minority ethnic groups were less likely to obtain internships, despite being overrepresented in registrations for the schemes, suggests that where there is competition for places employers tend to recruit graduates from more 'traditional' backgrounds, which raises questions about equality and social mobility. More recent figures obtained from GTP in response to a direct request by the author suggest that in the year from October 2013 to September 2014 around

2,717 new advertisements for positions were added, a decrease from the previous year of around 29 per cent from 3,825.

As noted previously, the DLHE provides some data on internships. The most recent data available reveals that of the 329,945 respondents who were in employment six months after leaving university, 7,735 of them indicated that they were ‘on an internship’ representing around 2.3 per cent of those in employment. A number and proportion that appears to have increased over the past three cohorts (Table 2.1). Clearly, this represents just part of the picture and the total number of people engaging in an internship at any one point in time is likely to be higher than this as not all interns will have studied a higher education course and many graduates from previous cohorts may also be working as interns at the same time point. However, there is some indication from previous research to suggest that in many cases internships are likely to be carried out by university graduates and some indications that the majority finish doing internships by two years after graduation (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Perhaps more significantly, the DLHE is likely to underestimate of the total extent of internships, even among recent graduates, because the survey only asks respondents to provide details of their ‘main’ activity and suggests this could be the job they spend most time on, earn most from, or is related to their future plans. Thus, many interns may not report their internship as their ‘main’ job, particularly if it is part-time, unpaid, or they otherwise see another job as their ‘main’ activity. Thus, estimates from the DLHE are likely to underestimate engagement in internships to some extent. That being said the DLHE does give some indication of participation in internships as a part of early employment patterns of graduates and is a reliable and generalisable source of data. Assuming most graduates finish engaging in internships within around two years after graduation, as has been suggested above, and that they last around six months on average a total estimate in the region of that suggested by Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2010) might be more likely than that suggested by Lawton and Potter (2010).

Table 2.1: Number of graduates doing internships as their 'main job' (and as a proportion of those in employment) six months after graduation

	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14
'On an internship'	6,245 (2.1%)	7,285 (2.2%)	7,735 (2.3%)
All other types of contract	300,740 (97.9%)	319,900 (97.8%)	322,210 (97.7%)
'In employment'	306,985	327,185	329,945

Base: UK and EU respondents 'In employment'
Notes: Numbers rounded to nearest 5 in line with HESA's rounding strategy
Source: HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12, 2012/13 and 2013/14

2.4 What are the potential benefits of internships?

Central to the idea of internships is the notion that internships have various potential benefits. In particular, internships are thought primarily to benefit individuals by helping them 'get a foot in the door' by gaining relevant experience and helping them to develop various skills and competencies, thus making themselves more employable and attractive to potential employers (Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b, 2015b; Milburn, 2009). In addition, some have suggested that internships may also have wider benefits for employers and the operation of labour markets more generally, by allowing employers to test potential new recruits and by providing a mechanism by which graduates can bridge the gap between education and employment (Milburn, 2009; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; CIPD, 2010c). This section discusses the potential benefits for individuals, employers and the wider labour market and examines evidence to support the potential benefits from the literature.

2.4.1 Benefits for individuals

As has been outlined earlier in this chapter, one of the key defining features of internships is that they are something that individuals do in order to work towards a particular career aim and hopefully improve their position in the labour market. Thus,

in much of the literature it is assumed that internships provide a number of benefits to individuals. These, it could be argued, can broadly be seen as falling under three main interrelated areas: experience, development of skills, competency and knowledge; employability and self-marketability; and relationships and networks.

Experience and skills, competency and knowledge development

The development of the skills of the workforce has been a major part of UK policy for a number of years (Leitch, 2006). With the government's focus on providing highly skilled workers for the so-called knowledge economy, along with increases in the amount of fees payable by students themselves, 'employability' and the development of work-related 'skills' have gained increasing importance in policy terms (BIS, 2011). Gaining relevant work experience in a particular sector or occupation and developing work-related knowledge and skills are one way that internships are thought to benefit interns. However, as noted previously, the interrelated concepts of skills and employability are not unproblematic. Problems with the concept of employability, and in particular the way it has been conceived of in government policy, are discussed in the following section, but in order to discuss the purported developmental benefits of internships it is worth taking a moment to outline the way skills are conceived in much of the literature on the practice.

Noon, Blyton and Morrell (2013) identify at least three ways in which the concept of skill can be thought of: 'skill in the person' – individual abilities and attributes acquired through education, training and experience (pp113-117); 'skill in the job' – the requirements of the tasks involved in carrying out a given job (pp117-121); and 'skill in the setting' – the consideration of political and historical setting within which certain jobs, tasks and workers become considered 'skilled' (pp123-127). The use of the term 'skills' in government policy and in much of the literature on internships might be seen as falling under the first usage noted above: skill in the person. In this conception, skills are considered as qualities individuals 'possess' that can be gained through education training and experience (Noon et al., 2013). Sometimes referred to as the 'skills approach' or 'skills agenda' (e.g. Holmes, 2000, 2006; Tomlinson, 2011), skills are often seen as something that people can 'acquire' and then later use in much the same way as someone might possess a tool. Once a given skill has been acquired it is implicitly assumed that they will then be able to take that skill with them to other jobs and apply it to the same effect. However, a number of criticisms have been levelled at this approach. Firstly, the broadening of the concept of skill to include a range of personal qualities that were not previously thought of as skills,

such as confidence, risks devaluing the concept and rendering it meaningless (Lafer, 2004; Lloyd and Payne, 2009). In addition, this shifting of the concept of skill to include attitudes and behavioural traits, it is argued, shifts the responsibility for the development of work-related abilities away from managers and onto the individual and educational institutions (Grugulis, Warhurst and Keep, 2004). Finally, Noon et al. (2013) note that such a narrow focus on individuals as the possessors of skills overlooks the social, historical and political context in which the concept of skills has developed and the implications such conceptions may have for different actors. The 'skill in the setting' concept of skill outlined by Noon et al. might be a more useful concept in in this respect, as some consideration of the social, political and labour market context in which the practice has emerged would surely be useful. However, very little of the discussion of skills in relation to internships in the literature thus far has adopted such an approach, with few notable exceptions (e.g. Smith, 2010; Tomlinson, 2008, 2011). Similarly, while the 'skill in the job' conception might be of use for studies looking at the usefulness of internships for preparing individuals for particular professions, very few UK studies have adopted this approach. Although it is not the objective of this thesis to contribute to debates about how the construct of skill should be conceptualised it is worth noting here how the concept has been employed in studies of internships. To this end it is worth noting that much of literature on internships adopts the 'skill in the person' approach viewing internships as a way for graduates to develop various capabilities and competencies that might perhaps be difficult to develop through education.

Lawton and Potter (2010) argue that apart from giving interns a taste of what it is like to work in a given industry, and the industry-specific knowledge and understanding that can generate, internships also provide experience of various sorts of workplace activities, such as: attending meetings, working on projects, team working, and writing internal reports or briefings. Milburn (2009) notes that submissions from the PFAP's call for evidence suggests that in some professions (e.g. journalism and veterinary science) "students are now unlikely to progress without a minimum amount of relevant work experience" (p101), perhaps underlining the importance of gaining 'real life' work experience, and being able to exhibit this to prospective employers. This is a point that has been made elsewhere in relation to industries such as advertising and the creative sector more generally (e.g. McLeod et al., 2011; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; DCMS, 2008).

In terms of skills and competencies, a number of researchers have argued that internships can help develop self-confidence and a range of employability and

industry-specific skills (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b, 2015b). In the CIPD's 2014 'Learning to Work' survey 60 per cent of employers surveyed that offered internships felt that they were an effective way of developing the employability skills of young people (CIPD, 2015b). A higher proportion than for work experience and school leaver schemes but less than for graduate schemes and apprenticeships. Similarly, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) found that 93 per cent of graduate interns on the GTP scheme reported increased confidence in their employability and more than two fifths felt that they had developed a range of employability skills 'a great deal' including: time management, communications, prioritisation, problem solving and team working. Though slightly fewer (18 to 39 per cent) reported similar levels of improvement in: practical ICT skills, commercial awareness, customer awareness, influence/negotiating, and leadership (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). These findings were reflected in the evaluation of the GTP scheme, although slightly fewer interns reported development benefits at the same level (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011).

However, as has been noted earlier in this chapter, it would appear that not all internships do provide opportunities to carry out the sorts of tasks that can help individuals develop their skills and knowledge. Although one of the main aims of internships is to provide 'real life' work experience and enhance employability it has been suggested that the potential developmental benefits of internships are not always forthcoming. For example, in some cases employers may use interns as a cheap source of labour, often giving them mundane tasks to carry out with little developmental benefit (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Frenette, 2013). This suggestion would appear to be supported in at least some of the quantitative studies. For example, 14 per cent of interns from the GI scheme indicated that they felt like "a cheap pair of hands" (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011, p89). Frenette (2013) has argued that the role of an internship is often an elastic one and is 'what you make of it', with the responsibility often lying with the individual to find opportunities to stretch the role in order to develop employability. In the UK some have argued that internships that are less structured and that do not involve challenging tasks provide little in the way of developmental benefit to interns, further arguing that unpaid and low-paid internships are more likely to fall into this category because employers who invest more in running internships are also more likely to put effort into ensuring that they get the most out of the relationship (Milburn, 2009; Gerada, 2013). And, as outlined previously in this chapter, the evaluations of government supported schemes found that whilst the majority of internships did

involve developmental activities a sizeable minority did not: 17 per cent in the GTP, and 18 per cent in the GI scheme (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Thus it would appear that the developmental aspects of internships may not always be forthcoming.

Employability and self-marketability

As noted previously, and as with skill, the often linked concept of employability is also not unproblematic. Employability has been defined as an individual's capability to gain and maintain employment, and to obtain new employment if needed (Hillage and Pollard, 1998). In this view, employability depends on an individual's 'assets' (e.g. knowledge, skills and attitudes), how these are deployed, how they are presented to employers, and the context (i.e. personal circumstances and labour market environment) in which they seek work. However, it has been argued that due to the primacy of market individualism and the economic role of HE in neoliberal discourses of the labour market, more recently employability has been 're-badged' under two main approaches: the skills approach and the human capital approach (Li, 2013). According to Li (2013) in the former employability is defined as the skills and attributes valuable in gaining employment, or being successful in an individual's chosen occupation (citing Harvey, 2001; Yorke, 2006), while in the latter employability is seen as an individual's productive capacity in the labour market and is determined by their investment in education and training (citing Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1993). However, as Li (2013) notes neither of these two conceptualisations are without problems. As noted previously, the 'skills approach' has been criticised on the grounds that it reduces individuals to sets of attributes and skills, so called 'possessive instrumentalism' (Holmes, 2000), and for assuming that such 'skills' are easily transferred from the classroom to the workplace (Tomlinson, 2011). Similarly, the human capital model has been criticised for viewing individuals as purely rational beings who make decisions about learning and employment in an exclusively utilitarian way (Tomlinson, 2011). In addition, both approaches have been criticised for viewing employability as a predominantly supply side issue (Tomlinson, 2011; Brown and Hesketh, 2004). In contrast, Brown and Hesketh (2004) take a much more relational view of employability in their 'positional conflict theory' defining employability as "the relative chances of getting and maintaining different kinds of employment" (p25). Whichever view of employability is used, a common theme in all of the above definitions is that it reflects the extent to which individuals are able to gain employment and/or are perceived as attractive to employers.

It has been argued that in an increasingly insecure and unpredictable labour market improving one's employability through the development of human, social and cultural capital has become increasingly important (Smith, 2010). This may be achieved through the development of skills, reputation and connections (Kanter, 1995) and through developing the 'hard currencies' (e.g. educational credentials, work experiences and formal achievements) and 'soft currencies' necessary to package and market one's self in a way that is attractive to employers (Brown and Hesketh, 2004). Both of the evaluations of government-backed schemes make the point that with the growing number of graduates combined with increasing levels of student debt, graduate employability has become particularly important and argue that internships represent a part of this wider picture (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Improving one's employability is cited in the literature as one of the key benefits of internships (e.g. CIPD, 2009, 2015a; Frenette, 2013). The development of skills and networks is one way that internships are thought to contribute to individuals' employability, as outlined above, but they may also contribute to employability in a number of other ways, such as improving self-marketability, building self-confidence and establishing trust.

A number of authors have argued that just having an internship on a CV can help improve someone's chances of obtaining full-time employment, particularly in industries where experience of work is hard to come by any other way and where competition for paid jobs is fierce (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Frenette, 2013; CIPD, 2010b), and in some sectors they may be seen as essential (Leonard, et al., 2016; Shade and Jacobson, 2015). Indeed, on the GI scheme, gaining experience that they could put on their CV was the most commonly cited motivation for engaging in an internship with nearly two thirds (65 per cent) citing this as a motivation (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Milburn (2009) suggests that applicants who have completed an internship are more attractive to employers because it:

- demonstrates commitment to the profession,
- shows they have developed important skills and behaviours,
- shows they understand recruitment processes and what is sought after in the profession,
- shows they understand their own skills and abilities and whether the career is right for them,

- and shows they have already been built up a network of contacts in the profession.

Building confidence and self-esteem is another way that internships are thought to help improve employability (e.g. Siebert and Wilson, 2013). And indeed, interviewees from the evaluations of both of the government-backed schemes said they felt more confident and more employable (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011).

Smith (2010) has argued that in an increasingly unpredictable and insecure labour market employers' desire to minimise risk means that labour market entrants are increasingly called upon to 'audition' for 'real' jobs by working for free (e.g. by volunteering or working as an intern), which enables them to prove themselves and to build trust. Similarly, others have argued that in an increasingly competitive and positional labour market awash with growing numbers of graduates, credential inflation means that graduates increasingly have to distinguish themselves from other graduates through attending more prestigious universities, gaining higher qualifications, or engaging in extra-curricular activities or work-related experiences (e.g. Ware, 2015a; Bathmaker, et al., 2013; Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Brown, 2013). Qualitative studies of internships appear to provide some evidence of this with Leonard et al. (2016) arguing that internships in the voluntary sector represent the 'New Degree' and respondents in Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study suggesting that education has been devalued and that an undergraduate degree plus an internship is now the minimum requirement for employment. The mechanisms contributing to these pressures are discussed in more detail in the following chapters on labour market change and labour market transitions and graduate careers. Suffice to say, it is in this context that internships may be considered as providing an opportunity for those with little or no experience to improve their employability in competitive labour markets by providing experience to labour market entrants at little risk to the employer.

Although conceptualisations of employability vary, and particularly the extent to which it reflects skills or attributes that individuals possess, one of the common features in the definitions outlined above is that the term relates to people's ability to gain and maintain employment. Thus, it could be argued that the real test of employability, and of whether internships help improve someone's employability, is whether or not they help them secure employment. Generalisable quantitative data on this question is scant. However, the two evaluations of government-backed schemes do attempt to

measure the impact of internships within the schemes, albeit using a fairly crude methodology. Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) attempt to measure the relative success of interns by comparing the employment situations of those who completed internships against graduates who registered for the scheme but were unsuccessful in obtaining an internship. Compared to those who were unsuccessful in obtaining internships, at the time of the survey interns were more likely to have a long-term job (46 compared to 25 per cent) and less likely to be unemployed (15 compared to 27 per cent).

Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) also made some attempt to evaluate the success of interns on the GTP scheme, although the methodology they used was arguably even more tenuous. In their approach they compared the work situation before and after engaging in an internship, while also comparing the work situation of interns who had completed their internship against those who registered but never applied for an internship and those who applied for an internship but were unsuccessful. None of these comparisons are without complications, particularly as at just five months only a relatively small number of respondents (60) had completed their internship. However, probably the best measure of outcomes is to compare the employment situation of those who had completed their internship to those who had been unsuccessful or did not apply for an internship. The main difference between these groups was that those who had completed internships were more likely to be in long-term employment (40 per cent compared to around 26 per cent for non-applicants and unsuccessful applicants) and less likely to be in temporary employment (although the precise figures for temporary employment are not provided in the report). Interestingly, similar proportions of internship completers and both groups of non-interns were unemployed (21, 22 and 22 per cent respectively).

Thus, on the face of it, both studies appear to show that internships improved graduates' chances of gaining longer-term employment. However, there are some considerable methodological shortcomings in both of these studies in terms of attributing outcomes to internships. Firstly, the use of unsuccessful applicants as a nominal control group in both studies is problematic, because by definition applicants that were unsuccessful in applying for internships may also be less likely to be successful when applying for a job than those who were successful in applying for internships. Secondly, simple comparisons between two, or more, naturally occurring groups does not take account of the differences in the characteristics of the two groups, and in both studies those who were successful in applying for internships tended to have better grades and to be from more advantaged backgrounds, both of

which may be more likely to advantage them in the graduate labour market anyway. Consequently, there is no real way of knowing whether the more positive outcomes of interns were due to the internship itself or just a consequence of those graduates having better social and cultural capital. Thus, in order to properly answer the question of whether internships really do improve graduates' employment chances further quantitative research that can control for these biases is necessary.

Relationships and networks

The final area where internships are thought to help aspirants is through the development of relationships and professional networks. They can help interns develop useful contacts in the host organisation and in the wider industry, both of which are thought to help 'get a foot in the door' with the current employer or in the industry more widely (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015). Indeed, the importance of networking and building relationships may be key to getting a foothold in a career, particularly in some sectors and/or professions. Milburn (2009) has argued that, in the professions covered by the Panel on Fair Access to the Professions [PFAP], internships are an "important access point" and help "secure entry" (p99) because as well as developing skills and awareness of what employers are looking for they have "already been able to build up a network of contacts in the profession" (p100). Similarly, in the advertising industry McLeod et al. (2011) found that relationships, networking and 'peer regard' were important for developing careers and argued that 'placements' gave creatives the opportunity to become 'embedded' in the organisation, to get a feel for the communities of practice, and make themselves 'indispensable'. In addition, Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012) noted that in the film and television industry networks were key, both in terms of gaining entry level opportunities and in helping secure further work on other projects in order to forge a successful career in an industry dominated by short-term freelance and project work. Similarly, Siebert and Wilson (2013) noted that getting on in the creative industries depended on getting 'the right connections', which internships and work experience could provide, but accessing these opportunities also often relied on connections thus creating a 'vicious circle'.

In fact, it could be argued that it is the importance of personal and professional networks in accessing opportunities that is one of the factors that makes internships such a contentious issue. On the one hand, if establishing relationships and professional networks is so important in establishing a successful career then accessing opportunities to build those relationships and networks becomes a key

factor in ‘getting a foot in the door’. Then, ensuring labour market entrants have equal chances of securing entry level opportunities becomes critical in ensuring social mobility and breaking down socio-economic reproduction by making sure that some groups are not excluded from gaining entry to key sectors of the labour market. Indeed, the PFAP received submissions suggesting that securing high quality placements was often dependent on contacts among family and friends, leading them to conclude that “by and large, [internships] operate as an informal economy in which securing an internship all too often depends on who you know and not what you know” (Milburn, 2009, p99). The implications of this for socio-economic reproduction and social mobility are discussed later in this chapter. However, it is clear that relationships and social and professional networks have significance both in terms of accessing internships and in terms of the potential benefits internships can have for individuals.

2.4.2 **Benefits for employers**

As well as the purported benefits for individuals, internships are thought to have various potential benefits for employers. These benefits might be seen as falling into three main areas: direct contribution to the organisation in terms of work; benefits in terms of recruitment processes; and contribution in terms of skills, enthusiasm and ideas. Firstly, a number of commentators have noted the obvious contribution internships can make to the organisation in terms of being an inexpensive source of labour. For example, the CIPD (2010b) has argued that internships provide the opportunity to gain “an additional productive and engaged member of staff, even if the internship is only for a few months” (p8). This point was supported to some extent in CIPD’s *Learning and Development Survey* which found that 52 per cent of employers surveyed indicated that interns were a ‘cost effective’ resource, although the same survey also found that interns may not always be as productive as other staff with only one third (33 per cent) of employers agreeing that interns help increase productivity (CIPD, 2010c). Indeed, the opportunity for employers to gain a cheap, or even free, pair of hands has not been lost on some commentators, who also highlight the potential for exploitation (e.g. Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Frenette, 2013), an issue that is discussed in more detail in the following section of this chapter. In Frenette’s (2013) study of internships in the music industry a range of views were expressed by interviewees about the contribution interns

make, with some arguing that the mundane tasks that interns do would get done by a paid member of staff eventually, whereas others argued that as budgets have been squeezed and paid posts have been reduced interns have become increasingly used to fill the gap. This provides some evidence that interns may be replacing paid staff in the sector, conferring tangible benefits to employers, at least in some cases.

The second area where employers can benefit from internships is in terms of recruitment. A number of studies have suggested that one of the perceived benefits of unpaid internships for employers is that they are a cost effective solution to recruitment needs and a way to screen potential new recruits (Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013). Similarly, official guidance on internships highlight that one of the main benefits for employers is the opportunity to 'test' a new potential member of staff 'on the job':

"Employers can evaluate interns 'on the job' for a set period of time or for a specific project and are also able to access new skills and talent in a cost-effective way thereby identifying the best candidates for vacancies within the organisation." (GPCF, 2013, p8)

This sentiment appears to be supported by employers. Three quarters (76 per cent) of employers in the CIPD's *Learning and Talent Development Survey* said that internships were a good way to 'test' potential staff (CIPD, 2010c). Employers interviewed in the GI scheme also reported that being able to try out potential new recruits at a low cost and, crucially, low risk was also one of the main benefits for them (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). The low risk factor may be particularly salient, as has been noted previously, in an increasingly insecure and unpredictable labour market employers increasingly seek to minimise risk and using temporary and/or low-paid or unpaid work may be one way employers achieve this (Smith, 2010).

The third area where internships are thought to benefit employers is in the contribution predominantly young and highly educated labour market entrants can make to the organisation. For example, the GPCF (2013) argue employers can tap new skills and knowledge and the CIPD have suggested that interns can bring "new ideas and fresh thinking" (CIPD, 2010b, p8). This view was supported by employers in the evaluation of the GI scheme who reported that interns brought specialist knowledge and skills from their course as well as "a new energy and fresh insights" (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Similarly, an injection of youthful energy, information and ideas was also cited by respondents Frenette's (2013) study as one of the benefits for employers in hiring interns. Aside from the direct contribution that

interns can make in terms of skills, knowledge, enthusiasm and insight, some have argued that when managed properly internships may help develop the management and leadership skills of current staff who supervise interns (CIPD, 2010c; GPCF, 2013). However, the impact on other staff may not always be so positive. Siebert and Wilson (2013) found that some existing staff were negatively affected by internships because the time taken up helping inexperienced interns and correcting work meant that it affected their own work. In addition, there was a feeling among informants in Siebert and Wilson's study that unpaid workers in the organisation, and even in the sector generally, devalued existing workers and undermined pay levels. Of course, it could be argued that the suppression of pay levels might also be seen as a benefit to some employers, although not to existing employees.

2.4.3 **Wider benefits**

As well as potential benefits for individuals and employers internships have been argued to provide wider benefits to industry and wider labour markets. For example, the training and development of new blood can be argued to help expand a skills base "particularly in relatively new sectors of the economy that do not have fully developed graduate recruitment programmes" and may help address skills shortages (CIPD, 2010b, p8). This is a view that employers appear to share, with 69 per cent of respondents to the CIPD's *Learning and Development Survey* seeing internships as a good way to develop new talent in the industry (CIPD, 2010c). Respondents in Frenette's (2013) study also cited the 'training/pipeline' view of internships, but many were sceptical of this view suggesting instead that more often than not the 'inexpensive labour' rationale probably outweighed this.

Milburn (2009) has argued that internships can be seen as being "part and parcel of a modern, flexible economy" (p99). This use of the term 'flexible' here, although not necessarily deliberate, may be indicative of a more general movement in policy concerns towards greater 'flexibilisation' of employment both in creative industries policy and in the wider economy that has been identified by others (e.g. Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009; Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 2011). The extent to which increasing flexibilisation may be seen as a 'benefit' is debatable, and while some employers and policy makers may see it as beneficial other commentators would argue that it has led to a greater level of insecurity and precariousness in employment (e.g. Standing, 2011; Thompson, 2013; Appelbaum, 2012). The

question of increasing flexibilisation and labour market change is discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Finally, it has been argued that where access to 'high quality' internships is transparent and fair they may facilitate diversity and social mobility, although it is noted that the practice of unpaid internships may be problematic (GPCF, 2013). Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012) note that in the film and TV industry, where social capital and networks are critical in accessing high quality work opportunities, gaining access to professional contacts through early work experiences can help overcome socio-economic disadvantage for some. However, clearly, this relies on being able to access 'good quality' early work experiences in the first place, which is a highly contentious issue that will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

2.5 What are the problems with internships?

Despite the various benefits that internships are thought to provide a number of potential problems have been identified in the literature, which largely revolve around issues of social mobility, exploitation and the extent to which they provide, or fail to provide, the promised developmental benefits. The extent to which internships are thought to help develop skills and broader employability have been discussed above. Despite skills development and employability being central to the idea of internships, these benefits may not always be forthcoming. For example, it has been noted that internships all too often consist of routine and mundane tasks with little developmental benefit, and although many internships do involve training and/or challenging work at least some do not (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Similarly, although internships are also thought to make interns more employable, the extent to which internships help in the labour market has yet to be demonstrated empirically and while the evaluations of government-backed schemes purportedly show positive employment outcomes these studies have failed to control for wider factors such as grades, institution reputation and background characteristics when attributing outcomes (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). Having highlighted questions surrounding the development of skills and employability, the rest of this section discusses the potential problems with internships in terms of exploitation and social mobility.

2.5.1 **Exploitation**

One of the most obvious potential problems with internships relates to exploitation. Particularly in glamorous or attractive sectors where competition is fierce such as media, fashion, politics and the creative industries, as has been suggested elsewhere (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Milburn, 2009; Frenette, 2013). Apart from raising issues related to social mobility and access to careers in these sectors, which are discussed in the next section, low-paid and unpaid internships also raise questions about potential exploitation. For example, Frenette (2013) highlights common concerns that internships may often be less about development and more about exploitation, and further notes that in the music industry interns represent a 'flexible pool' of labour for the host company. Respondents in Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study felt that employers took advantage of being in a position of power in the creative sector, because in a competitive labour market someone is always prepared to work for free. As one respondent put it, in an economy where youth unemployment is high and competition for jobs is perceived to be high "there's a huge potential for our generation to be exploited" (p197). In both of these studies there were suggestions that unpaid interns may be undertaking workplace tasks and responsibilities that were previously carried out by paid members of staff (Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015). Standing (2011) has, similarly, suggested that interns may often present a cheap dispensable source of labour for employers and represent a precarious form of working. One question that presents itself is whether or not it is ever right to not pay a member of staff just because there are people who are willing to work for nothing, or even just very little. Apart from raising ethical questions about whether it is ever ethical to expect someone to work for free when the work that they do may bring commercial benefits to the organisation, excepting in cases where the work is carried out for altruistic or charitable reasons, it has be argued that this may put downward pressure on the pay of others within the organisation or the wider sector (Siebert and Wilson, 2013). While this might be attractive to employers is hardly likely to help the position of workers, particularly during a period where living standards have been squeezed (OECD, 2015).

Some have argued that even this may not seem particularly unfair: if the internship is for a relatively short space of time; in cases where there is a fully paid job at the end of it; or if there are clear and strong developmental benefits. For example, the CIPD has argued that the short-term costs of taking an unpaid position should be

outweighed by the long-term career advantages and increase in earnings (CIPD, 2009, 2010b, 2015a). This view would appear to be shared by aspirants in the graduate labour market. Although the majority of students and recent graduates surveyed in Siebert and Wilson's (2013) study agreed that unpaid internships were exploitative many still believed that they were crucial in gaining employment in the sector and that "this is how things are" (p715), and those who had engaged in internships felt that the benefits outweighed the costs. On the other hand, some have highlighted evidence of a 'revolving door' of internships in some sectors with some people having to engage in serial internships for considerable lengths of time before they build up enough experience to get them a permanent job (McLeod et al., 2011; Perlin, 2012; LPC, 2011; Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015). Further, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) noted that successful applicants on the GTP scheme tended to have better grades and to be from more prestigious institutions and therefore may be seen as reflecting those who might traditionally been recruited to graduate recruitment schemes. This raises the question of whether internships may simply be replacing traditional graduate schemes, which probably would have been on more favourable terms.

In the literature, there has been some debate as to whether interns should be paid the NMW with some authors initially arguing for a special rate for interns along the lines of the apprentice rate (e.g. CIPD, 2010b). However, even where it could be argued that the intern is gaining something from the internship (e.g. experience, skills and an addition to their CV) it could equally be argued that most paid jobs also provide this, as well as a means of living. More recent guidance from the CIPD has been at pains to make the practical and moral case for paying interns at least the NLW or NMW, arguing that as well as helping to widen access and being "the right thing to do" (CIPD, 2015b, p5), paying interns helps increase loyalty, motivation, commitment and thus productivity. Employers may instead want to ask themselves how much they would reasonably expect to pay a junior member of staff for the tasks that an intern would carry out, bearing in mind that even the most straightforward clerical jobs would likely be paid at a rate above the NLW/NMW. This may be a particular issue in sectors where workers may be less likely to be motivated by material wealth such as the creative industries and so may be more vulnerable to exploitation of this kind (Amabile, 1996; Ball et al, 2010). And as Lawton and Potter (2010) point out with reference to the 2011 report of the LPC interns are unlikely to complain about their situation as they are "keen to maintain good relations with their employer and in their chosen sector more generally" (p10).

2.5.2 Social mobility, equality of access and socio-economic reproduction

Probably the most contentious issue surrounding internships revolves around questions of equality of opportunity, social mobility and socio-economic reproduction. As discussed above one of the main purported benefits of internships is that they can help interns 'get a foot in the door' in their careers, either directly through working for a particular employer or indirectly through gaining experience in a given sector that can be added to a CV. If internships are thought to help improve skills, networks and employability, although this is by no means proven, this means that those lucky enough to be able to secure and complete an internship are at an advantage in the jobs market over those who have not done an internship. Therefore, if fairness and social mobility are a goal within society it is important that individuals from any background have an equal opportunity to engage in internships. And, as has been noted above, some have suggested that where access to internships is open and transparent then the practice may have the potential to overcome disadvantage and to improve networks (GPCF, 2013; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012).

However, a number of authors have argued this may often not be the case. Firstly, where internships are unpaid or low paid this is likely to mean that potential candidates from less advantaged backgrounds may not be able to engage in opportunities as they are unlikely to be able to forgo wages for any considerable length of time, whereas those from more well off backgrounds are more likely to be able to rely on their parents for support (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). Although there is a paucity of any generalisable quantitative evidence to support this claim a number of reports have highlighted this as a potential issue either through evidence presented from professional bodies or through anecdotal evidence provided by interns (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). Similarly, respondents in qualitative studies within the academic literature have also highlighted this issue. In Leonard et al's (2016) study interviewees were acutely aware of class differences in access to unpaid internships in the voluntary sector, with many commenting on the class composition of the sector and feeling a sense of unfairness that people from less advantaged backgrounds may be being excluded from the sector. Similarly, creative interns in Shade and Jacobson's (2015) study often reported that they would not have been able to work for free, sometimes for over a year in different internships, without the material support (and sometimes professional contacts) of

their parents and expressed concerns that their less advantaged peers may be excluded from such opportunities. Furthermore, the same authors note that internship opportunities are often geographically focussed, with many key sectors being largely centred around particular locations, such as London and the South East of England, making internships more costly for candidates from farther afield who are unable to commute from the parental home, thus compounding accessibility issues where internships are unpaid or low paid.

The evaluations of government-backed internship schemes do appear to support this, with applicants on the GTP scheme being more likely to be from London or the South East of England (reflecting the greater concentration of internships in the region) and white graduates and those with better grades or from more prestigious universities tending to be more successful in gaining internships (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). However, more evidence is needed to establish whether some groups really are more disadvantaged in terms of access to internships.

Finally, apart from issues around the costs of actually carrying out an internship a number of authors have highlighted issues around transparency and the openness of internships, particularly in terms of recruitment practices and how individuals find out about and access opportunities. For example, Milburn (2009) suggests that apart from the financial and geographic barriers that can discourage those from lower socio-economic groups from engaging in internships, there are also 'informational barriers' whereby:

"those from a background in which internships are commonplace are not only more likely to know of their existence but also, through contact with relatives or friends who employ interns, have the social networks to know the qualities that internship schemes are looking for." (Milburn, 2009, p103)

Similarly, citing the 'Skillset survey on performing arts 2005' a report from the DCMS noted that "it is not clear that the opportunities for the recruitment of unpaid young people as interns, common in most creative industries, are distributed evenly across all socio-economic groups" (DCMS, 2008, p23), further claiming that "for too many at the moment, the chance to start a career in the creative industries means moving to London, working for free or knowing someone who can get you a foot in the door" (p7). Thus, it has been suggested that in many cases internship opportunities, and particularly those that are not paid, may not be openly advertised leading to an 'informal economy' where access to opportunities is based on personal contacts rather than the ability or potential of applicants, further limiting access and fairness

(Milburn, 2009). Some of the evidence from qualitative studies on internships appears to support this view with a number of respondents either reporting that they accessed their internships through parents' personal and professional contacts, or complaining that they lacked the contacts to access opportunities (Leonard et al., 2016; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). Not only does this raise questions about social mobility and fairness in terms of being able to access opportunities for improving one's occupational and financial achievement, but as Lawton and Potter (2010) suggest, in many cases the sectors most likely to be affected by the above problems are sectors that represent considerable power in society (e.g. media, politics, publishing, government, business and third-sector organisations) adding to patterns of inequality in terms of economic well-being and power. Thus, in situations where there are issues around pay, access and transparency internships could be argued to operate as yet another closed off practice that contributes towards 'socio-economic reproduction', whereby patterns of inequality in terms of power and social and cultural capital are replicated and those from lower socio-economic groups are excluded from positions of power (Bourdieu, 1984).

2.6 Conclusion and gaps in the literature

This chapter has examined the literature on internships to establish what is known and not known, and to highlight key issues associated with the practice. Although there is no one definition of internships it has been argued that graduate internships can be distinguished from other forms of work experiences and that a defining feature is that they are something that individuals engage in in order to work towards particular career aims. In terms of features, the literature suggests that internships can take a variety of forms, lasting from a few weeks to over a year, and consisting of a range of tasks from challenging, developmental work to routine and mundane tasks with little developmental benefit. However, in nearly all of the literature on internships it would appear that one common feature is that they comprise a temporary, and some would say precarious, form of employment. It could be argued that this situates the practice within wider debates about employment and labour market change on the one hand, whereby increasing financialisation and flexibilisation is argued to have led to greater risk aversion among employers and use of flexible and insecure forms of employment (e.g. Standing, 2011; Thompson, 2003, 2013; Appelbaum, 2012;

Rubery, 2015), and careers and transitions into employment on the other, in which individuals are increasingly expected to take charge of their own training and employability and a positional labour market increasingly requires graduates to exhibit additional credentials in order to compete for the best opportunities (Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Brown, 2013; Bathmaker et al., 2013).

In fitting in with this context, it could be argued that the literature reveals a kind of 'dual view' of internships. On the one hand they are thought to convey a range of potential benefits to individuals, employers and wider society, although the benefits to individuals tend to be the principal focus. While, at the same time, there are real concerns about exploitation and the extent to which the practice presents a barrier to social mobility and is a mechanism of socio-economic reproduction. Whilst a number of qualitative studies have been illuminating on the subject, the extent to which either of these aspects of internships applies in practice, or even the prevalence of internships, has not been demonstrated empirically. While attempts have been made to estimate the incidence of internships in the UK graduate labour market, the figures vary wildly, and whilst some studies have looked at questions of outcomes and patterns of participation, none of them have provided definitive answers. This research aims to address these gaps by exploring the following research questions:

1) To what extent is the practice of internships a feature of the graduate labour market, what forms do they take and what are the perceived benefits?

2) Are there issues around access to and participation in internships and do these have implications for fairness and social mobility?

3) What are the outcomes of engaging in graduate internships for individuals and do they improve interns' positions in the UK graduate labour market?

The following two chapters of the literature review attempt to situate internships within wider debates on labour market change and careers, transitions into work and the graduate labour market. They outline and discuss key theories in these areas in order to contextualise the practice and to propose how internships fit in with the theoretical context.

3 Theories of employment and labour market change

The previous chapter has discussed the literature on internships. It was argued that, despite a lack of reliable quantitative evidence in relation to internships, qualitative research has suggested that on the one hand internships can be seen as a means for labour market entrants to improve their employability and get a foothold in the labour market, while at the same time there are concerns about the practice's impact on social mobility and that the precarious position of interns may leave them open to exploitation, particularly in an increasingly individualised and insecure labour market. This chapter discusses theories of labour market change in order to locate internships within wider developments in the labour market and to describe the pressures and trends that may go some way to explaining the emergence of the practice. It is argued that a desire for flexibility among employers and policy makers, coupled with a reticence about committing to new job entrants, has led to an 'audition' or 'try before you buy' culture (Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2013). At the same time, a discourse about an increasingly competitive and insecure labour market could be argued to make labour market entrants more inclined to accept whatever opportunities are open to them.

Firstly, the chapter discusses theories of labour market change, starting with early theories about the flexible firm, labour market segmentation and 'new capitalism' (e.g. Atkinson, 1984; Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Sennett, 1998). The chapter then moves on to discuss more recent conceptions of labour market insecurity, financialisation and flexibilisation, and the pressures that drive these trends. These theories posit that a number of factors have combined to drive employers to increasingly seek flexibility in their workforce and to be cautious about committing to employees and labour market entrants long term. Internships can be seen as emblematic of this 'try before you buy' culture as they offer employers a low-cost way

to ‘try out’ new recruits with little risk and commitment (CIPD, 2010b; GPCF, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013). The chapter then goes on to discuss evidence to support or refute theories of labour market change. It is argued that although there is little evidence of the seismic shift towards insecurity and flexibility predicted by some theorists, there is evidence of a general creep towards more insecure and flexible forms of employment. Although internships are not generally captured in the statistics examining the decline of the standard employment relationship, their emergence is consistent with this creep towards an increasingly precarious labour market. Finally, the chapter concludes by arguing that this creeping insecurity is emblematic of a financialised capitalism that is increasingly concerned with profitability and so seeks workforce flexibility and is increasingly cautious about investing in labour market entrants. This in turn shifts responsibility from employers to individuals and other labour market institutions, such as the education system, for training and developing employability (Thompson, 2013). The emergence of internships then, might be seen as a manifestation of these emerging pressures, whereby interns are expected to take responsibility for developing the skills needed to perform the job and employers can try out new recruits before committing to them long term (Smith, 2010; Frenette, 2013).

3.1 Changing times?

The topic of employment and labour market change has gained momentum in recent years (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2012). Although the precise causes and nature of these changes – and indeed whether or not there has been any significant change – continues to be subject to debate, the main argument in this body of literature is that due to various social and economic forces, and/or processes, there have been increases in various forms of employment that are considered, in one way or another, to be less secure than perhaps what we had come to consider as the prototypical form of employment (e.g. Beck, 2000; Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 2011; Doogan, 2009). This insecurity or precariousness has been represented in terms of a number of forms or modes of employment, such as: contingent or non-standard employment, increased use of temporary or fixed term contracts and agency workers, growth in freelance or self-employment, part-time employment and zero hour contracts, reduced tenure, or simply in terms of an increased sense that one’s employment may not last (Stone, 2012; Arnold and Bongiovi, 2012; Fevre, 2007).

The growth in these less secure forms of employment is often contrasted to a prototypical model of employment often termed the standard employment relationship (SER) (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2012). The SER, usually associated with the 'Fordist' mode of production, is thought to have become the norm during the post-World War II era and is characterised by full-time working, a permanent employment contract, fair wages and fringe benefits, and collective bargaining representation (Kalleberg, 2011; Beck, 2000). However, the extent to which this form of employment was ever the norm, even in industrialised countries, has been questioned by some (e.g. Vosko, 2010). Despite this, a number of different terms have been used to describe these changes in employment and/or those people most effected, including employment insecurity, precariousness, precarity, and the precariat (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2012). The next two sections attempt to outline some of the most prominent of these theories that have gained attention in the literature in order to provide an idea of the labour market conditions and pressures that have driven the emergence of the practice of internships. The chapter then goes on to discuss the evidence for and against the idea of labour market change before going on to discuss the implications these theories have for the understanding of internships.

3.2 Flexibility and 'new capitalism'

One area of research with implications for employment and labour market change that arose the latter part of the 20th Century surrounds the concept of labour market flexibility and flexibilisation (Atkinson, 1984; Atkinson and Meager, 1986; Hakim, 1990). In what might be seen as emerging from management discourse, these theories sought to describe what was seen as the increasing need for employers to respond to changes in demand, due to factors such as increased global competition and technological change, by adjusting their workforce in order to meet this demand efficiently. This, it was argued, was increasingly to be achieved by employers through three main forms of flexibility: 1) 'numerical' flexibility (e.g. recruitment planning, hiring/firing, changing working hours, reduced wages); 2) 'functional' flexibility (e.g. retraining employees, outsourcing certain tasks, better work practices); and 3) 'financial' flexibility (e.g. through a greater variety of pay models, including performance- and/or assessment-based pay) (Atkinson, 1984). A fourth form of flexibility, 'distancing' or the replacement of employment contracts by commercial contracts (e.g. through outsourcing) was also added to this model (Atkinson and

Meager, 1986). The result would be the ‘flexible firm’ with a core of permanent workers with secure employment that the employer would invest in, with a periphery of workers employed on less favourable terms that could be more easily let go and/or replaced to adjust to market demands. Although during this time internships had yet to emerge as a common practice in most sectors in the UK, the attraction the practice would have presented to employers at the time in terms of flexibility are easy to see.

As has been noted elsewhere, this model might be seen as fitting in with theories of labour market segmentation, which also have a focus on primary and secondary, internal and external, labour markets (Hakim, 1990; Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Similarly, economists have contributed to debates related to labour flexibility, with discussions on ‘external’, ‘internal’ and ‘wage’ flexibility, which can broadly be seen as mapping on to the conception of numerical, functional and wage flexibility outlined above (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2012; Hakim, 1990). The factors often cited in this literature that drive employers’ need for greater flexibility relate to a shift in the dynamic of global capitalism, driven by a change in patterns of consumer demand and production characterised by ‘flexible specialisation’, along with increased competition due to globalisation (e.g. Piore and Sabel, 1984; Doogan, 2009). Although these ideas gained a lot of interest in the literature, some have argued that the evidence to support these ideas, in terms of aggregate changes in employment, was weak at best and might be seen more in terms of an attempt to predict employer responses to wider economic factors (Fevre, 2007; Doogan, 2009).

In the late 1990s a number of theorists attempted to characterise changes in employment and the labour market within a wider attempt to reconceptualise wider social changes. For example, Sennett (1998) argued that a ‘new capitalism’ had emerged characterised by a globalisation of production, finance and trade, and by flexible specialisation. In this analysis deregulation, combined with increasing focus on competition, financial markets, and the importance of short-term profits for shareholders has led to increasing use of flexible and insecure forms of employment. This, it was argued, had significant implications for individuals’ moral identity as increases in short-term work and the related uncertainty eroded individuals’ sense of self and sustained purpose, making it hard to make any kind of sustained commitment to a career.

Similarly, Castells (1996) argued that there had been a significant shift in the nature of society and capitalism, this time largely as a consequence of technological change, although again globalisation and financial flows played a significant role.

Castells argued that the revolution in information technology had led to a restructuring of the capitalist system since the 1980s and had led to an ‘informational capitalism’ where the ability to use information and knowledge had become the main source of productive capacity. In this new system a new kind of organisation had emerged termed the ‘network enterprise’ with a focus on ‘flexible’ rather than ‘mass’ production, new managerial systems, more horizontal organisational hierarchies and characterised by strategic alliances of large corporations. In this analysis, labour is seen as being fragmented fundamentally between those with skills that can easily be replaced by technology or other workers (‘generic labour’) and those who have the ability and access to be able to adapt their skills (‘self-programmable labour’).

Finally, Beck (2000) argued that we were moving from a work society to a knowledge society with significant implications for the nature of work and employment. He argued that we were moving from a Fordist regime, based on mass production, mass labour and mass consumption – characterised by high employment levels, strong unions and collective bargaining, government intervention and Keynesian macro-economic policies – to a “destandardized, fragmented, plural ‘underemployment system’ characterised by highly flexible, time-intensive and spatially decentralized forms of deregulated paid labour” (Beck, 2000, p77). In his analysis, technological change, increased mobility of capital and global competition had undermined nations’ abilities to protect jobs, thus leading to increased labour market insecurity.

Key driving factors in all these theories were increased competition due to globalisation and a shift from Fordist to ‘post-‘ or ‘after-Fordist’ models of capitalist production and accumulation. While some welcomed these theories in terms of the contribution to the understanding of changing employment, as with early conceptions of labour market change the empirical foundation of these theories in terms of evidence has been questioned. Doogan (2009) notes that Beck and Sennett fail to support their ideas with much in the way of empirical data, and that while Castells does provide some data the data provided did not necessarily support his conclusions. Fevre (2007) further proposed that these, and other, theories about employment change were largely influenced by earlier work hypothesizing about employment and labour market change, such as those of Atkinson and Meager, that had contributed to the idea of increasing insecurity of employment as becoming a ‘received wisdom’, despite never having been empirically proven in the first place. We will return to the question of whether or not the evidence, in terms of labour market data, supports these theories later in the chapter. However, the overarching message in these theories was that a number of changes in capitalism had led, or

was leading, to changes in the labour market that in one way or another made employment less secure or permanent than previously. While the link between the above theories and internships is at best indirect at this stage, they set the stage for later theories about labour market change and flexibilisation that do have direct implications for the emergence of internships.

3.3 Insecurity, precariousness and precarity

More recently the question of employment insecurity/precarity and labour market change have received renewed attention (Stone, 2012), with a number of theorists describing a rise in precarious and insecure forms of employment (e.g. Vosko, 2010; Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 2011). Two prominent theories that have gained significant attention have been put forward by Arne Kalleberg (2011) and Guy Standing (2011).

In his book *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs* Arne Kalleberg (2011) argues that institutional changes in the United States since the 1970s have led to a return to the more precarious forms of working that characterised the employment of the pre-1930s period. These changes have resulted in: polarisation in the quality of jobs in terms of the financial rewards and intrinsic qualities; an increase in the incidence of poor quality jobs; and an increasing precariousness of work in general. In contrast to the 'orthodox' view, characterised by Madrick (2012) as seeing that labour market change as brought about by inevitable, evolving economic forces, such as technological change and globalisation, and leading to efficiencies through lower wages, Kalleberg argues that although globalisation and technological change play a part, these changes have been brought about by "the interaction of two major sets of dynamics" (Kalleberg, 2012, p429). These dynamics are comprised of:

"(1) Macrostructural economic, political, and social forces such as the intensification of global competition, rapid technological innovation and change, deregulation of markets, increased mobility of capital and growing financialization of the economy, the decline in unions and worker power, and the continued rise of the service sector; and (2) demographic changes in the labor force that increased labor force diversity and created a larger group of non-White, nonmale workers who are more vulnerable to exploitation." (Kalleberg, 2012, p429)

Kalleberg (2011), as other theorists have done, contrasts the emerging situation with that of the post-WWII period, which he sees as an exceptional period characterised by sustained growth, prosperity and security based on a social contract between

workers, employers and communities. The narrative Kalleberg describes in his 'new structuralist' analysis revolves around the following: increased mobility of capital and labour due to globalisation and 'spatialization'; increased price competition due to globalisation and government deregulation in certain industries; increasing financialisation of companies and increasing interest in returns to investment due to leveraging and the shareholder model; reduced government intervention in the labour market and weakening of employment protections linked to ideological shifts and the 'freeing up' of markets and focus on the individual as responsible for their own situation; growth of the service sector and the replacement of skilled jobs with poor quality jobs as industries declined; the decline in union representation; growing inequality in terms of wages and unequal distribution of productivity gains between management and workers; and corporate restructuring in the pursuit of flexibility in order to respond to flexible specialisation and to improve image to stakeholders. In Kalleberg's view the interplay of these drivers, particularly with the deregulation of markets, the weakening of unions and employment protections gave employers "relatively free reign to restructure employment relations" (p21) and resulted in an abandoning of the social contract that characterised the post-WWII period, paving the way for increases in precariousness and the polarisation of job quality mentioned above.

Many of the drivers and themes that Kalleberg describes are familiar, such as the impact of globalisation and increased foreign competition, along with a shift in the mode of production to greater flexible specialisation, which together put pressure on employers to seek labour market flexibility. However, the attention to institutional and structural change through factors such as the political choices and the role of government in deregulation, and promoting policies that weaken unions and employment protections, are an important distinction in his theory as it recognises the importance of factors other than the 'inevitable global forces' related to markets that characterised early theories and highlights the role of governments and other institutional actors. In addition, the focus on the weakening of labour market protections and the ideological shift towards viewing the individual as responsible for his or her labour market situation is notable here, as it is in this context that the practice of internships has emerged as a strategy for individuals to develop the skills and experience needed to transition into employment.

Other theorists have also argued that deliberate policy choices during the last 30-40 years linked to neo-liberalism have acted to weaken employment protections and increase employment insecurity. For example, Madrick (2012) has argued that,

amongst other factors, an over concern with inflation in economic policy since at least the early eighties led to a “low-wage, high unemployment policy regime in the rich world, and especially in the United States, for a generation” (p324), which has ultimately contributed towards the polarisation of jobs. This regime included combating inflation through low wages, high interest rates, attacks on unions and targeting unemployment at around NAIRU (Non-Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment). Similarly, Heyes (2011) has argued that the selective adoption of ‘flexicurity’ policies by many countries in the EU since the recession, rather than encouraging flexicurity have instead led to increased flexibility for employers and increased insecurity for workers. These changes can be seen as paving the way for employers to make use of increasingly flexible and temporary forms of employment, of which internships might be considered as emblematic, in order to meet their resourcing needs without the long-term commitment that comes with employing someone on a permanent basis. Indeed, in relation to the ‘gig economy’ the recent Taylor review of modern working practices viewed flexibility as ‘important’, although not, it is noted, if it is too one-sided (Taylor, 2017).

The narrative of labour market change put forward by Guy Standing in *The Precariat* (2011) goes one step further. He argues that processes that occurred during what he terms as the ‘Global Transformation’ (i.e. the globalisation era from 1975 to 2008) have led to the rise of a new social structure in which there is a growing section of society that are increasingly subject to precarious forms of employment and other forms of insecurity (the eponymous ‘precariat’ of the title). Standing describes a range of different processes that have combined to erode labour-related securities, fracturing the previous class structures and swelling the ranks of this new emerging ‘class-in-the-making’. During this period, it is argued, the global economy has become increasingly integrated in a way it had never been previously and has become ‘disembedded’ from society as a whole. A process that occurred as “financiers and neo-liberal economists sought to create a global market economy based on competitiveness and individualism” (Standing, 2011, p26). Key processes and institutional changes identified in his analysis include:

- The sharp increase in the supply of cheap labour associated with the entrance of emerging countries, such as China, India and Soviet bloc countries into the global market, which weakened the bargaining position of workers elsewhere putting downward pressure on wages, while simultaneously increasing the number of workers in precarious situations in these emerging countries due to questionable employment practices;

- The increasing commodification of 'the firm' in recent years, as companies are bought, sold and split up by shareholders led by pension and private equity funds, which has been facilitated by changes in the laws and regulations governing these sorts of transactions, has led to an erosion of long-term relationships between employees and management based on trust, a decline of the firm as a 'social institution' and ultimately to outsourcing, offshoring and restructuring as companies push for flexible labour forces in order to respond to changes in demand;

- The increasing pursuit of numerical, functional and wage flexibility, along with 'occupational dismantling' have weakened employment protections and made it easier to fire workers and replace them with temporary and agency staff, reassign them, reduce the costs of wages and associated benefits, and undermined the clarity of career structures.

Standing also identifies a range of other processes that have contributed to the growth of the 'precariat', such as changes in how unemployment is perceived and treated, the relative costs of transitions into and out of employment, the consequences of the financial shock of 2008, the dismantling of the public sector, the subsidising of low pay by the state, and the decline of social mobility. Standing argues that the result of these processes has been a reduction in labour-related security for some and a growth in the number of people who lack all seven of these[1].

Again some of the themes discussed by Standing are familiar: the loss of jobs to emerging economies and downward pressure on wages due to increased global competition; increased employment insecurity related to the pursuit of flexibility by employers; a change in the nature of relations between employers, workers and government; and a decline in worker representation. In addition, Standing also argues that there has been a hollowing out of middle-income jobs citing research by Goos and Manning (2007) as showing that occupations in the top and bottom two

[1] The seven forms of labour-related security are defined as: labour market security – adequate income-earning opportunities; employment security – regulations to protect workers from arbitrary dismissal, etc.; job security – ability and opportunity to carve out a career; work security – protection against accidents and illness at work (e.g. health and safety regulations, work-time directives, etc.); skill reproduction security – opportunities to gain and make use of skills; income security – assurance of an adequate/stable income (e.g. through NMW, pay indexation and adequate social security benefits); and representation security – ability to have a collective voice in the labour market (e.g. through trade unions and the right to strike) (Standing, 2011).

wage deciles expanded significantly between 1979 and 1999 while those in the middle six shrank. This is a pattern that appears to have continued in the UK until at least 2007 (Goos, Manning and Salomons, 2009; Fernández-Macías, 2012). However, the novel element of Standing's analysis is his proposition of a new occupational structure comprising of a global 'elite' at the top of the occupational hierarchy and an emerging 'precariat' at the bottom, alongside "an army of unemployed and a detached group of socially ill misfits living off the dregs of society" (Standing, 2011, p8). Interns are one notable group that Standing sees as comprising part of the 'precariat'. Certainly, it could be argued that most interns are likely to lack at least most, if not all, of the seven labour-market securities that Standing describes, particularly in cases where they are unpaid and/or do not have a formal contract with their employer. Consequently, they could quite reasonably be considered as holding a precarious position in the wider labour market.

Although compelling, the evidential basis for this new class structure is not clear and some of the strata that Standing describes could be seen as fitting in with more familiar conceptions of class. For example, although he notes that the 'core' workers might be consistent with the existing notion of the 'working class' it could be quite reasonably argued that the 'proficians' and the 'salariat' might more simply be described as fitting in with common conceptions of the 'middle class'. However, this minor criticism aside, there may certainly be some merit in re-assessing pre-existing conceptualisations of occupational and class structures in light of the current changes in employment. More serious criticisms of Standing's analysis, however, have been levelled. For example, the extent to which the 'precariat' can really be thought of as being a 'class' and the evidence supporting this claim has been questioned, as has his claim that up to a quarter of the population might be considered as making up the 'precariat' (e.g. Kalleberg, 2012; Spencer, 2012; Conley, 2012). In defence of these criticisms Standing points out that in much literature discussion of the 'proletariat/working class' is often vaguely defined without people necessarily questioning it and points out that in his analysis the precariat might be considered as distinct because he argues that they have distinct 'relations of production' in that they are not only defined by employment insecurity but lack all seven forms of labour-related security (outlined above) (Standing, 2012). He further explains that the evidence to support his claims is laid out in much of his previous work (e.g. *Global Labour Flexibility*, 1999; and *New Paternalism: Basic Security as Equality*, 2002).

However, despite his protestations it may be worth exploring these criticisms further. For example, in Standing's analysis it is not clear who is in the precariat and who is not. He notes that certain features are correlated with the precariat, such as precarious forms of work and lack of career prospects, but does not offer any clear defining features other than stating that they can be defined in that they lack *all* seven of the forms of labour-related security. However, even if this is the case it is not clear that all of the groups that Standing highlights in the book as being in the precariat are subject to a lack of all of these.

Both of the above theories of the increasing polarisation and precariousness of work share common themes with the earlier theories of labour market change outlined earlier in this chapter, such as the diverging experiences of different sections of the labour market such that for many work people employment is likely to be much more insecure than for others, and the role of global forces as drivers in this such as globalisation, technological change and increased integration and importance of financial markets. Of particular relevance to internships are the themes related to employers' desire for greater flexibility and the ideological shift towards viewing the individual as responsible for his or her labour market situation. However, where these more recent theories differ from earlier theories is in highlighting the impact of political choices linked to neoliberalism and the weakening of trade unions in terms of creating an environment where flexible and insecure employment relations proliferate. In this sense, labour market change is seen as more than just the consequence of inevitable global forces, but rather as the result of political choices made on a local and global level. All of which, it could be argued, have resulted in a distancing between employers and workers, such that some groups face increasingly precarious labour market positions. Labour market entrants and young people, it is argued, may be particularly at risk of this due to their lack of labour market experience.

3.4 Financialisation, flexibilisation and labour market insecurity

One recurring theme in all of the above theories of labour market change is the theme of flexibilisation. That is, that employers, and to a certain extent governments, have increasingly sought to be able to create a flexible workforce in various ways,

something that is reflected in the Taylor review (Taylor, 2017). Whilst themes such as an increasing focus on profitability, shareholder value and the view of the firm as a commodity are present in some of these theories (e.g. Kalleberg, 2012; Standing, 2011), the role and consequences of these factors have been drawn out in more detail by other theorists in discussions of the financialisation in the workplace (e.g. Thompson, 2003, 2013; Appelbaum, 2012; Rubery, 2015).

In his 'disconnected capitalism thesis' Thompson (2003, 2013) argues that an increasingly financialised capitalism has emerged that has resulted in a growing divergence and dysfunctionality between employers objectives in the areas of work and employment, whereby employers expect workers to invest more of themselves in their work whilst at the same time employers invest less in developing human capital. In this thesis it is argued that changes in four distinct but interconnected 'institutional realms', primarily driven by the pursuit of shareholder value, has resulted in growth strategies that focus simultaneously on the squeezing of labour and more active management of corporate assets. In the realm of *accumulation* it is argued that a distinctive regime has emerged, 'financialised capitalism', that increasingly derives profits from financial channels and means rather than production and product markets, even in non-financial corporations. At the same time, in the realm of *corporate governance* despite a decentring of corporate structures there has actually been a shift in power towards the corporate centre, who are more answerable to shareholder groups, which results in a cascading down of performance monitoring, target setting and control, and pressure to reduce costs, which in turn leads to reduced security for large sections of the workforce. In the *work* institutional realm it is argued that trends towards the increasing standardisation of work tasks and increasing measurement and monitoring that started with Fordism and Taylorism have been exacerbated by financialisation, resulting in increasing intensity and work pressures. Thompson (2013) cites a number of studies that describe the ratcheting up of performance management and control while reducing staff levels as examples of how employers increasingly attempt to get more for less in order to achieve shareholder value goals. Similarly, in the realm of *employment* it is argued that there has been an increasing drive towards flexibility through use of diverse, contingent, non-standard and numerically flexible forms of employment as employers attempt to redraw the lines between internal and external labour markets.

Whilst it is noted that this drive for flexibility reflects longer term trends in flexibilisation, it is argued that financialisation plays an increasingly significant part as a driving force. In the pursuit of shareholder value, the diminishing protective capacity

of unions and labour market institutions means that employers are increasingly able to shift the burden of risk from capital to labour. And while on the one hand Thompson (2013) argues that pessimistic views of 'an age of insecurity' may have been exaggerated, at the same time the hollowing out of the labour market suggests that there is little evidence to support optimistic views of "new kinds of flexible employees who 'own' their own knowledge and skills" (p480). Overall, it is argued that most jobs have become harder and more demanding, and therefore less secure, even in areas where contracts are more standard the multi-employer model has become more common than previously. The unifying theme across these 'wide-ranging' trends, it is argued, is that of financialisation interacting with, and accelerating and exacerbating longer term trends in labour market insecurity, externalisation and internationalisation.

A number of authors have supported and extended arguments about the impact of financialisation. For example, Appelbaum (2012) augments Kalleberg's analysis of globalisation and its effects, in line with Thompson's analysis, and extends the financialisation theme related to greatly expanded mobilisation of capital and its subsequent impact on labour. In this analysis, greater mobility of capital, increased focus on shareholder value, diversion of corporate profits to share buy-backs and dividends pay-outs, and the view of the corporation as an asset, means that corporate managers are increasingly judged on their ability to produce financial returns for shareholders. This increases pressures to attempt to raise profitability by measures such as moving production to low-wage countries, increasing leverage, and relying on forms of flexible and precarious employment. Similarly, while making the point that politically motivated policy choices have played a major role in the polarisation of jobs, Madrick (2012) also argues that changes in corporate governance related to globalisation and financialisation have had 'large institutional roles' in wage and job suppression. It is argued that increased competition due to globalisation combined with increased focus on profit growth due to the financialisation of shareholder and debt-leveraged firms mean that companies increasingly seek greater workforce flexibility in order to maximise profitability and sustain growth, with negative consequences for the majority of workers. In all of these views financial pressures are seen as driving employers to seek greater flexibility in their workforce by using a range of strategies such as outsourcing, use of temporary and non-standard contracts, and also leading them to be cautious about recruiting labour market entrants long term. In this context internships present an

attractive option as there is often no commitment to employing the intern at the end if things fail to work out.

Rubery (2015) also cites financialisation as a key trend in employment that has occurred during the past 50 years that – along with feminisation, flexibilisation and fragmentation (the 'four Fs') – has contributed to increased labour market insecurity. She argues that after some initial gains in labour market security in the 1960s and 1970s – caused by employment contract legislation, strengthening unions and adoption of the job-for-life model – since the 1980s gradual changes in social norms and expectations, along with declining protective power of unions and increasing instability of markets, has led to increasing employment flexibility. That is, flexibility in the sense of a decline in the job-for-life model of career at both the upper and lower ends of the occupational structure, and in the shape of growing use of part-time work on the one hand (partly related to the increased participation in the labour market of women since the 1960s) and of expectations that full-time workers will work as many hours as necessary to complete tasks on the other. In addition, with the emergence of the debate about the 'flexible firm' (highlighted above) came fragmentation of the labour market, separating the activities of core and periphery workers, which consigned those in the periphery to less stable employment, while at the same time exposed "the core to external costs at different stages of production, thus permanently exposing the core to external competitive pressures" (p638). For labour market entrants, gaining access to the 'core' is becoming increasingly difficult.

Rubery (2015) argues that the public sector did not escape fragmentation as some parts were privatised and others were opened up to competitive tendering, all of which exposes public sector workers to market pressures and adds ambiguity about which organisation is ultimately responsible for workers. Financialisation adds to these trends as increasingly profits are derived through financial means rather than products and services, thus weakening the importance of workers and exposing them to external pressures as organisations (and their shareholders) increasingly seek different ways of maximising profits, such as selling off assets, investing profits in financial products, or outsourcing production and services to external companies (often overseas). The drivers of these trends, it is argued, are a combination of global drivers such as the growth of services, advances in technology and globalisation, along with political drivers related to neoliberalism, such as deregulation of the employment relationship, de-collectivisation, and a shift towards viewing the employment contract as a 'bargain among equals' that does not require any additional protections. The overall effect of these trends is a change to greater

insecurity in employment contracts and in working hours, a trend towards less transparent and more complex employment relationships and greater fragmentation of career structures. Rubery thus argues that the mutual interdependency of employers and employees is being put into question, as profits are not as dependent on labour as they once were.

The above views on the relationship between financialisation, flexibilisation and labour market insecurity contain familiar themes about the directions of labour market change and its drivers, such as the role of global economic forces and political choices. However, the key point of relevance for the current study is the emphasis on how increasing financialisation has led to increased pressure for employers to pursue flexibility and to reduce costs, thus shifting the burden of risk to workers. In turn this has led to a cautiousness amongst employers in committing long term to employees, and to job entrants in particular, or to investing in the development of human capital (Thompson, 2013). Internships, it could be argued, can be seen as emblematic of this aversion to risk and reticence to commit to new job entrants long term, as well as of a shift in responsibility for developing workplace capacities from employers to individuals. Firstly, because a lack of long-term contract means that interns can easily be let go or replaced if things do not work out. And, secondly, because the onus is on the intern to demonstrate that they can get up to speed quickly rather than on the employer to commit to training someone that they have recruited on a more permanent basis. A number of commentators have highlighted how internships fit in with this ‘try before you buy’ culture (Smith, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013), with some even highlighting this as one of the benefits (CIPD, 2010b, 2015a; GPCF, 2013).

3.5 Evidence to support theories of labour market change

As noted previously, the extent, nature and causes of any significant changes in the labour market have been widely debated for some years. And although the general direction in the literature outlined above would suggest a certain level of agreement that there has been a trend towards increasing employment insecurity and precariousness it is worth considering the empirical evidence in more detail. In relation to the present study, it is important to establish the veracity of claims of

increasing insecurity and flexibilisation, particularly as a number of theorists have argued that internships comprise one form of exploitative and precarious employment and/or have suggested that they might be seen as part of a general move by employers towards flexibilisation and reticence to commit to job entrants, in an 'audition' or 'try before you buy' approach towards recruitment (e.g. Standing, 2011; Smith, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

As noted above, in response to early predictions of an 'age of employment insecurity', particularly those put forward by Castells, Sennett, Beck and others, Fevre (2007) has argued that there has not been any significant increase in insecure forms of working in advanced economies, although he notes that there have been rises in 'non-permanent' work in some countries. Similarly, Doogan (2009) has critiqued the idea of a 'new capitalism', arguing that the impact of technological change, the mobility of capital, and impact of globalisation has been greatly overstated, and that there has not been any substantial shift in the use of less secure forms of employment. On the other hand, Stone (2012) used data from ten OECD countries covering the period from 1985 to 2010 (where available) to examine the claim that there has been a decline in the 'standard' employment contract and a move to more 'insecure' forms of working[1]. She argued that the data does support the thesis of changing national labour markets and growth in 'non-standard employment'. This section explores the evidence presented in these and other sources under four main themes related to aspects of labour market change covered in these accounts: non-standard forms of employment, length of tenure, collective bargaining representation, and income inequality. The section then sums up by briefly discussing how the data fits in with the theories of labour market change outlined above.

3.5.1 Non-standard forms of employment

One of the key claims of theories of labour market change is that there has been a shift from more permanent forms of working, typified by the SER, to less permanent forms of employment, often termed 'non-standard'. Although definitions of non-

[1] The ten countries covered in Stone's analysis are: Australia, Japan, the USA, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, the UK, France and Canada (where data allows).

standard employment vary, three main measures that tend to be looked at when examining trends are: non-permanent and contingent work; temporary agency work; and part-time work. As noted above, the extent to which there has been any substantial change in these forms of employment is contested. This section discusses the evidence for and against these competing claims in the literature from each of the three main sources highlighted above, as well as from other sources of labour market data such as the OECD and ONS.

While noting the problems related to measuring insecurity using employment statistics, Fevre (2007) argues that in the UK 'non-standard' employment rose until the mid- to late-1990s and then declined until 2006, further noting that at around six per cent this type of employment is relatively low. In addition, both Fevre (2007) and Doogan (2009) cite Bureau of Labor Statistics as showing that 'contingent' employment declined from 2.2 per cent in 1995 to 1.7 and 1.8 per cent in 2001 and 2005 respectively. However, Fevre's own analysis appears to show that, using the wider definition of contingent employment including self-employed and independent contractors, it remained relatively stable over the period at around 4.9 per cent. Stone (2012), on the other hand, whose analysis extended two years into the recession (from 1985 to 2010), found a similar small decline in contingent work in the US in aggregate, but found it was no longer confined to younger workers and had increased substantially for older workers. In Europe, she found large increases in temporary employment during the period covered by her analysis in nearly all countries except Denmark and the UK (where there was a small decrease in the latter).

On temporary agency work, Doogan (2009) cites OECD data as showing that, although agency work is common in some countries such as Spain, Greece and the Netherlands, the overall average for the EU is just one per cent of total employment and has declined from 2001 to 2004. Conversely, Stone's analysis, despite not covering the UK, showed that, although starting from a relatively small base, temporary agency work had increased by two to five times in nearly all European countries covered (except Spain and Denmark) to an average of 1.8 per cent of EU workers in 2006. Stone's analysis also looked at the flip side of temporary employment, showing that permanent employment (OECD definition – those with paid leave entitlements) had declined for workers of all ages in nearly all European countries covered by her study except for Denmark and Spain. This decline was particularly pronounced among workers under 25, but was relatively small in the UK (from 90 per cent in 1990 to 87 per cent in 2009). Although, this decline may be

relatively small, it is this group that are most likely to need to carry out internships in order to gain entry to what may be an increasingly tight and insecure labour market, and these figures suggest an increase in insecurity for this group. It is perhaps noteworthy that this is also the group theorised to be facing increasingly individualised and uncertain transitions into employment that will be discussed in the next chapter (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011).

Stone (2012) also highlights part-time work as another form of non-standard employment that has increased in industrialised countries in the last 25 years. While some have argued that part-time work is not necessarily a sign of labour market insecurity and can in fact be a mechanism for labour market integration as well as marginalisation (Fevre, 2007; Doogan, 2005), others have argued that it can be considered as an example of flexibilisation (e.g. Rubery, 2015). Using OECD data and the OECD definition of part-time work as usually working less than 30 hours a week, Stone (2012) shows that part-time work has increased in nearly all of the OECD countries covered in her analysis between 1985 and 2009 except the USA and Denmark, and in the UK rose from 20.1 per cent to 23.8. Again this suggests a small but noticeable move towards an increase in more flexible forms of working, which could be interpreted to reflect a trend towards greater flexibilisation.

More recent figures on temporary employment in the UK using data from the LFS show that between 1992 and 2012 the proportion of workers on temporary or fixed-term contracts as a proportion of all employees remained relatively low, compared to some OECD countries, at around 5.5 to 7.0 per cent throughout the period (Inanc, 2016). Temporary work was shown to rise to a high of just under eight per cent in 1997 and then declined to a low of around 5.5 per cent in 2008 when the financial crisis hit. The trend then reversed during the recession and rose to around 6.5 per cent in 2012, a level not seen since 2002 and which would appear to be on an upward trajectory. The relatively low level of temporary working in the UK compared to other OECD countries, such as Spain where around one third of dependent employees are temporary, is due to the relatively weak employment protection for permanent employees in the UK which means that there is “little incentive for employers to use temporary contracts extensively” (Inanc, 2016, p13). However, the general trend in terms of temporary contracts appears to be a gradual increase in what might be considered an insecure form of employment.

The most recent figures available from these sources on non-standard employment confirm the idea of a small increase in less secure forms of employment (e.g. OECD,

2014a, 2014b; ILO, 2012). For example, OECD data using the European Labour Force Survey note a small increase in temporary employment in the UK from 5.7 per cent of all employees in 2006/07 to 6.1 per cent in 2011/12, mainly due to a slight increase in the use of temporary contracts as a proportion of all new hires up to 23.1 per cent in 2011/12 (OECD, 2014a, 2014b). Again though, there was greater evidence of insecure forms of employment among younger workers with 14.2 per cent of under 25 year old employees in temporary work in the UK in 2011/12 (OECD, 2014a). As noted previously, it is this group in particular that have been highlighted as most at risk from labour market insecurity and are likely to face increasingly uncertain transitions into the labour market, of which internships are arguably part of the landscape. ILO figures also found small increases in non-standard employment in the UK between 2007 and 2011 with temporary employment rising from around five to six per cent of total employment, and part-time work rising from around 25 to 27 per cent, also noting that an increasing proportion of this was involuntary (ILO, 2012). These findings reflect those of Stone outlined above and provide support for theories of increasing flexibilisation to some extent. Examining ONS statistics from the LFS in the UK appears to back up these general trends with the most recent figures for January to March 2016 putting temporary work at 6.2 per cent and part-timers as 26.1 per cent of employees[1].

3.5.2 **Job Tenure**

Fevre (2007) cites British Household Panel Survey data as showing the proportion of men who had been in their job for more than five years was only marginally lower in the 1990s than in the 1970s, and was unchanged for women, thus arguing that tenure has not changed significantly and employment is not significantly more insecure in this respect. Doogan (2009) citing data from a number of sources goes further arguing that Long-Term Employment (LTE), measured as the proportion of those holding jobs for ten years or more, actually grew between 1992 and 2002 by

[1] 'EMP01 SA: Full-time, part-time and temporary workers (seasonally adjusted)' [Retrieved on 10th June 2016 at 15.00 from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/fulltimeparttimeandtemporaryworkersseasonallyadjustedemp01sa

16.5 per cent in the US, 16.6 per cent in the EU, and 27.6 per cent in Canada[1]. However, examining the relative proportions in LTE presented in Doogan's table (p173) reveals relatively small increases overall (from 28.1 to 28.5 per cent in the US, 37.6 to 40.3 per cent in the EU, and 29.2 to 31.0 in Canada) and slight decreases in the proportion of men in LTE for some (e.g. from 32.0 to 31.2 per cent in the US, and 34.2 to 33.3 per cent in the EU). However, it is worth noting here that the figures presented by Fevre and Doogan between them only cover the period from the 1970s up to the early 2000s. Stone (2012), on the other hand, looks at data from the mid-1990s up to 2009.

Stone (2012) notes the importance of examining the patterns of trends in tenure data, noting that figures can be misleading in some cases due to: 'recession effects' where those with shorter tenures are often the first to go thus pushing up both average tenure and the proportion in LTE (because those left in employment have longer tenures) even though employment is more tenuous generally; "age effects" as with young workers it is impossible to distinguish new entrants from those with short tenures or those on short-term contracts from those who have had stable jobs for a short time, while older workers losing their jobs are more inclined to withdraw from the labour market altogether rather than start a new job; and "gender effects" as increasing participation of women in the labour market since WWII, and particularly since the 1970s, masks decreases in tenure for men when taken in aggregate.

That being said, Stone (2012) notes a general decline in the tenure of mid-career males, which is by far the largest group and traditionally the main source of income in many households. In particular, the patterns identified include:

- a decline between 1983 and 2010 in job tenure in the US for men of most ages, but particularly older and mid-career men, although job tenure for women has stayed relatively constant;
- a similar decline for men in most European countries studied, except Germany and the Netherlands where tenure increased, while women's tenure rose in most countries, except Italy and Denmark;

[1] Using statistics from the European Labour Force Survey, the Bureaux of Labor Statistics, and Statistics Canada.

- in the UK the proportion of male workers with tenure of over ten years decreased from 36.5 per cent in 1995 to 32.9 per cent in 2009, while the proportion of women working for their employer for more than ten years rose from 25.1 to 28.4 per cent;
- in all countries studied the proportion of mid-career workers (men and women) with tenure of over ten years has declined (except Germany), and in the UK it decreased from 32.9 per cent in 1995 to 27.9 per cent in 2009;
- *average* tenure for men by age followed a similar pattern in all countries studied except France (i.e. a decline in mid-career men in particular);
- and, finally, similar patterns were found for tenure in Canada and Australia.

CIPD (2013) research on trends in tenure and turnover in the UK using data from the LFS puts average tenure at around nine years for men and eight for women in the final quarter of 2011, while the proportion of employees in LTE in the final quarter of 2012 was around 33 per cent for men and 30 per cent for women. As with non-standard contracts, although there are some discrepancies in the data the most recent evidence presented in these studies seems to point to a modest reduction in employment security, particularly for some groups, rather than a step change.

3.5.3 Collective bargaining coverage

One factor mentioned in nearly all of the theories of labour market change cited above is the de-unionisation of the workplace and diminishing collective bargaining representation. The general consensus being that a number of factors, such as the shift in employment from manufacturing to the service sector, increased pressure due to globalisation, deregulation and the adoption of neoliberal policies by government, have led to a weakening of unions and a reduction in union membership. This in turn has weakened the position of workers in terms of a reduction in the ability of workers to resist the imposition of flexible working practices, resulting in increased precariousness. Kalleberg (2011) presents data from the Current Population Survey showing a decline in union density in the private sector in the USA since the early 1970s from just under 25 per cent to around 14 per cent in 2009, while public sector unionisation stayed relatively constant from the mid-1980s at around 35 to 38 per cent. In addition, Stone's (2012) analysis shows union density has declined in all ten

OECD countries in her analysis since at least the 1980s. For the UK this represents a halving of union membership from just over half of the eligible workforce in 1979 to just over one-quarter in 2009.

As in some countries collective bargaining coverage reaches beyond just that of union membership, Stone also presents data on the proportion of the workforce covered by collective bargaining agreements, which also saw significant declines in most countries, but smaller declines in Denmark, Italy, France, Spain and the Netherlands (reflecting the different legal frameworks relating to collective bargaining coverage in these countries). Haiven (2012) also looked at union responses to precarious forms of work in Canada and the UK and found that until recently unions had done little to curb the rise of flexible and precarious forms of employment as they tended to focus more on protecting their members' jobs, perhaps reflecting an increasing disconnect between the core and periphery. More recently, however, they have responded largely by calling for more legal and regulatory measures to curb these types of employment, although she notes that with membership at around 30 per cent working people in unions or out of unions have little say or power to change things. Thus, on this measure theories of labour market insecurity might be seen as enjoying more clear support than on the measures discussed above. And it could be argued that this is an area that has major implications for future introduction of insecure and precarious forms of working, including less secure forms of contracts such as internships.

3.5.4 **Inequality**

Income inequality has also been implicated as a sign of increasing labour market polarisation and precarity (e.g. Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 2011). Kalleberg (2011) presents data from Mishel, Bernstein and Shierholz (2009) on trends in hourly wages amongst US workers showing that while incomes have increased significantly for the top five per cent of earners (male and female) since the mid-1970s they have stagnated for men on average and declined slightly for the lowest earning five per cent of men from $12 to $10 per hour. Although hourly wages have increased slightly for women in the lowest earning five per cent this is only an increase from around $8 per hour in 1973 to $9 per hour in 2009. In investigating the patterns in rising wage inequality in more detail Kalleberg argues that it is in fact runaway wages at the top end of the scale that is driving increasing inequality. Stone (2012) used Gini

coefficients – a measure of statistical dispersion – to explore income inequality in the ten OECD countries in her study and found significant increases in inequality between the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s in all countries except Spain and France (an increase of around 2.5-3 per cent in the UK – p32 fig. A.34). She notes that although the actual causes of these increases in inequality are hard to ascertain 'most economists' put the causes down to three main factors: Skill Biased Technological Change (SBTC), globalisation, and/or decreases in employment protections "and other equity-promoting institutions" (Stone, 2012, p33). However, Kalleberg (2011) argues against the idea that SBTC is a primary factory in the increase in inequality pointing out that other countries that have experienced similar technological advancements have not experienced such pronounced increases in income inequality (e.g. France). However, whatever the primary drivers are there appears to be growing evidence of a rise in inequality in many advanced economies for at least the last 30 years.

Using the most recent figures available covering the period from just before the 2008 recession ILO research found increases in market income inequality (using Gini coefficients) in around two fifths of the advanced economies and the EU, with inequality remaining relatively stable or decreasing slightly in the rest (ILO, 2015). Examples of countries experiencing rising inequality include: the UK, Ireland, Denmark, Spain, Cyprus, Iceland, Lithuania, Latvia and the USA. Of the advanced economies, the UK was found to have the second highest levels of inequality after Ireland (ILO, 2015). Although perhaps not directly linked to the emergence of internships, on this measure the data would appear to fit in with the labour market change thesis reflecting a labour market with increasingly challenging conditions for some.

3.5.5 Support for theories of labour market change?

This data when taken together would appear to provide a slightly ambiguous picture in terms of the extent to which the above theories of labour market change are supported by the evidence. Based on the most recent data on 'non-standard' and flexible forms of employment it would appear that, although there has been an increase in some countries, in others the change has been relatively small. However, even where the shift has been relatively small, such as in the UK, it has affected some groups more than others, such as young people who are arguably those most

at risk from precarity as they lack employment experience that might help them in an increasingly fluid labour market. Similarly, with the data on job tenure the picture would appear to be slightly unclear, with a decline in LTE for some groups and not others. It would appear that the latest available data, when examined in detail, reveals a general decline in tenure in many countries, particularly amongst mid-career men. These trends would appear to fit in, to some extent, with the theories of labour market change outlined above in that there is a general movement in the direction of an increase in insecurity and flexible forms of working, and that some groups are more vulnerable than others. Young people in particular appear to be most at risk from labour market insecurity. As will be discussed in the following chapter, some theorists have suggested that this group face an increasingly congested labour market, where transitions from education to employment are increasingly individualised and uncertain (Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Heinz, 2009). As such, they are particularly likely to be tempted to engage in internships in a bid to improve their labour market position. However, the size of the movement towards insecure forms of employment would appear to be less substantial in some countries than some theorists had predicted.

On the other hand, the data on union representation, collective bargaining coverage and rising inequality appears to support the idea of labour market change more solidly. The decline in trade union membership fits in with many of the accounts of labour market change outlined above and would appear to put workers at a greater risk of precarious employment practices as the power to resist changes in employment practices pursued by employers is reduced, thus opening the door to new and less secure forms of employment of which internships may be one example. The idea that inequality, at least in terms of incomes, has increased in recent years would also appear to be supported by the data. Here the pattern would appear to be that those at the top end of the scale have seen runaway increases in wages, while incomes for those in the middle and at the bottom have at best stagnated and have actually declined in some cases. This could be seen as fitting in with Kalleberg's polarisation thesis, as well as fitting in with Standing's conception of an emerging class structure with the 'elite' at the top and a squeezed 'core' and 'precariat' at the opposite end of the scale. However, the extent to which those at the bottom end of the occupational structure might be considered an emerging class remains to be seen.

Overall, when taking all of this evidence together, the picture would appear to be one of a slow creep towards increasing flexibilisation and insecurity, rather than a seismic

shift. Although, this may not point to an era of the ‘flexible firm’ or the ‘age of insecurity’ that some early labour market change theorists predicted, it does paint a picture of an increasingly tight labour market characterised by a tension between the objectives of employers and workers, where employers may be increasingly concerned about the potential risks of committing to staff long term (Thompson, 2013). In this environment it may be increasingly difficult for job entrants to get a foothold in the labour market, thus making internships an increasingly attractive prospect for those with little or no relevant employment experience.

3.6 Conclusion

The practice of internships has not emerged in a vacuum. This chapter has discussed some of the key theories about recent developments in the labour market and the context within which we see the practice of internships emerging. Although there continues to be debate about the nature and extent of any labour market change, and indeed the driving forces of any change, the emerging picture would appear to be one of a general movement towards an increase in the use of forms of employment that may be considered, in one way or another, to be less secure than many had come to expect. Although, perhaps slower than some have argued, this movement has been accompanied by an increase in inequality and a general weakening of the ability of workers to resist any erosion of their labour market security. It could also be argued that these changes have had profound implications for the relationship between individuals and employers, whereby the former are increasingly concerned about their situation in the labour market relative to others while the latter are increasingly concerned about avoiding risk and maintaining a level of flexibility (Kalleberg, 2011; Thompson, 2013). Internships might be seen as fitting into this pattern, as individuals with little or no experience and/or social capital seek to gain that all important experience on their CVs in order to compete against others for a dwindling number of high-end opportunities, while employers increasingly want to try out staff before committing to employing them longer term and to reserve the right to get rid of them should they want to. Indeed, the link between internships, particularly unpaid internships, and precarity has been made by a number of authors (e.g. Standing, 2011; Kalleberg, 2011; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013). Similarly, the shift in responsibility for the development of labour-market skills and employability from employers to individuals, into a ‘try before you buy’ culture, and

the place of internships has also been highlighted (Thompson, 2013; Smith, 2010). This shift in responsibility for developing employability and for taking charge of one's labour market situation also links in with theories about transitions from education to employment (e.g. Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011), which are discussed in the following chapter along with theories about careers and the graduate labour market. How internships fit within this framework is then discussed.

4 Careers, transitions into employment and the graduate labour market

A key theme in the literature on internships is the idea that internships are something that people, often young people or graduates with little or no experience of work, do in order to work towards a particular occupation or career aim (Perlin, 2012; Frenette, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Leonard et al., 2016). Internships are thought to help individuals develop industry-specific skills and knowledge, develop employability, prepare them for the world of work and provide them with all important job experience (Frenette, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b). Therefore, the concepts of 'career', transitions into employment and the graduate labour market are key areas of inquiry in terms of understanding how the practice of internships fit in with the world of work. On the other hand, whilst one view of internships highlights the potential benefits to individuals in terms of preparing them for an increasingly competitive and dynamic labour market (e.g. CIPD, 2010b; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011), another view highlights concerns about the often informal nature of internships (unpaid ones in particular), access to them, and the effect this can have on social mobility and in terms of potential exploitation (Frenette, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). As such, issues of social mobility and socio-economic reproduction in relation to how higher education and the graduate labour market operate also need to be addressed. This chapter discusses the literature in relation to the above concepts in order to locate internships within a wider framework and understand the potential ways in which internships might fit in with wider frameworks of career, transitions into employment and the graduate labour market.

Firstly, the chapter outlines some of the key theories in the study of 'career', narrowing to recent conceptualisations of career and implications for the study of internships, in order to set the conceptual context for the sociological study of career

and the role of new practices within careers. The chapter then goes on to highlight some key theories in the study of youth transitions and transitions from education into employment. It is argued that changes in education and the world of work have led to a lengthening of labour market transitions for many young people and a shift in the responsibility for developing work-related skills from employers to individuals and educational institutions. In this context internships can be viewed as a further shift in the responsibility for developing job and labour market-specific skills and knowledge from employers to individuals. Next the chapter goes on to outline recent changes in the graduate labour market, which result in an increasing positional competition between graduates where the development and signalling of employability is becoming increasingly important. The chapter then goes on to discuss developments in the higher education (HE) and the graduate labour market and how they relate to issues of social mobility and socio-economic reproduction.

Finally, the chapter summarises the key messages from the literature and outlines the institutional context within which the practice of internships has emerged and proposes how the practice fits in with emerging changes in labour market transitions. It is argued that internships can be conceived of as a reflection of a changing labour market environment where employers are increasingly cautious about committing to the development of labour market entrants and individuals are increasingly expected to take development of their employability into their own hands in order to improve their labour market position relative to other graduates. In this sense internships are thought to be an emerging pathway into employment, albeit one with less defined outcomes than previous pathways, as well as an attempt by graduates to forge meaningful careers in an increasingly competitive and positional labour market.

4.1 Career

The study of career has enjoyed a great deal of academic attention over the years in a range of disciplines including: sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, history, and geography (Arthur, Hall and Lawrence, 1989). Barley (1989) traces the routes of the sociological study of career to the pioneering work of the sociologists of the Chicago School around the turn of the 20th century, probably finding its most recognisable form in relation to the study of institutions, occupations and identity in the work of Everett C. Hughes (e.g. Hughes, 1937, 1955). Since then

research has explored the field of careers from a range of perspectives, embodying a variety of debates. Arthur et al. (1989) cite Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) as identifying four main types of career theory: 1) sociologically oriented theories concerned with social class and its outcomes; 2) psychological theories concerned with dispositions and their occupational implications; 3) mixed psychological and sociological theories focusing on career stages, occupational choice and development; and 4) principally psychologically based theories focussing on the adult life-course. Gysbers (1984, cited in Derr and Laurent, 1989) narrows these down even further to two main streams of research: 1) primarily psychological studies (e.g. self-development, career motivation, career orientation, and individual differences); and 2) primarily sociological studies (e.g. career paths and occupation streams, career strategies in organisations, and the nature of various occupations in society).

However, a number of commentators have noted that until very recently psychological studies focusing on the individual and their environment and matching people to jobs have tended to predominate in career research and theory (Arthur, Hall and Lawrence, 1989; Peake and McDowall, 2012). Many of the dominant theories in this area have their roots in the individual differences tradition or in developmental and social cognitive areas of psychology (e.g. Holland, 1985, 1997; Super, 1980; Gottfredson, 2002; Lent, Brown and Hackett, 2002; Lent, 2005). These 'traditional', 'orthodox' or 'functionalist' approaches have been criticised for being overly individualistic, not adequately taking account of wider factors and the context where careers are lived out, and/or using overly prescriptive definitions of career success (Peake and McDowall, 2012; Young and Valach, 2004). More recently, though, commentators have noted a movement within the literature from positivist and objectivist accounts to more post-modern and constructivist approaches (Guindon and Richmond, 2005; Savickas, 1993, 2000). This section traces the development of career theory, highlighting how more recent conceptions mark a return to a view of the individual as rooted within their wider institutional and social context. Thus, providing a framework from which to view the practice of internships as emerging from wider discourses relating to career and employability.

4.1.1 **Early approaches to career – the Chicago School**

As mentioned above, Barley (1989) has traced the origins in sociological research on careers to the pioneering research of the Chicago School of Sociology in the early

half of the 20th century. These early studies focused on how individuals interact with institutions and the impact these interactions had on the formation of identity. Thus, the conception of career was necessarily broad enough to allow the investigation of a wide range of phenomena such as criminality and juvenile delinquency, as well as more recognisable occupations (e.g. Thomas, 1923; Sutherland, 1937; Shaw, 1931; Cressey, 1932; Hughes, 1955). However, Barley argues that the study of career probably reached its most recognisable form in the studies of Everet C. Hughes. Hughes (1937) defined 'career' as "the moving perspective in which persons orient themselves with reference to the social order, and the typical sequences and concatenations of office" (p413). In Hughes' view careers were wider than just the sequence of jobs that a person might achieve through their life, they incorporated the individual's wider life and social context and were the lens through which they interpreted their own life with reference to other people and their roles within an institutional context. In this conception careers are the touching point between individuals and institutions, that is, the point at which individuals as agents connect with institutional structures. With its roots in a combination of 'German Formalism' – with its interest in 'social forms' – and 'American Pragmatism', which emphasised the need to investigate how actors themselves view their context and the issues they face, the study of careers in a particular context not only allowed the researcher to understand how members of a particular group construe their lives but also allowed them to examine institutions through understanding how participants themselves view and are affected by them (Barley, 1989).

Barley (1989) argues that for Hughes and his students, careers involved four related themes:

1) 'fusing the objective and subjective' – focusing on careers draws attention both to 'objective' aspects such as identifiable positions, offices or statuses, as well as the 'subjective' (i.e the meanings individuals give to their life histories);

2) 'careers entail status passages' – careers involve moving from one role to another, albeit in a non-temporally bounded fashion. New roles involve a change of identity through a process of 'role making' and 'role taking';

3) 'careers as properties of collectives' – looking at careers in terms of status passages, roles and identities, shifts the attention from the individual as a 'psychological being' to the individual as a 'social being';

4) ‘link between individual and social structure’ – although institutions are important in shaping individual careers, they cannot exist independently of the lives they shape. The study of careers, therefore, provides access to the study of social action and social structure.

It is the focus that locates individuals within a wider social and institutional context that makes the Chicago School view of careers of particular relevance for the current study, and also links in with more recent conceptualisations of career such as post-modernist and social constructionist approaches (e.g. Giddens, 1976, 1984; Tholen, 2012). A key claim in the Chicago School conception of careers of relevance to the study of internships is that “career lines only exist when a number of individuals have followed the same path”, as only when it is socially recognised can a ratified identity be drawn (Barley, 1989 – citing Goffman, 1961; and Roth, 1963). This claim, whilst recognising the importance of established pathways and forms, also leaves the door open to changing patterns, relations and actions, thus opening the door to studying new pathways and forms of employment within careers, which internships could arguably be considered to be.

At the same time, it has been argued that this broad conceptualisation of career, as wider than just individuals’ work lives, ultimately may have led to calls to narrow down the definition to one that is more commonly recognisable (Barley, 1989). In attempting to do this Wilensky (1961) defined career as “a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more-or-less predictable) sequence” (p523). A definition that could be seen as akin to what Hughes might have termed ‘bureaucratic careers’ (Hughes, 1937). It could be argued that Wilensky’s narrowing down of the definition of career was an attempt to define a particular type of career in order to measure its effect on social participation. However, whatever the precise purpose, it has been argued that the consequence for career theory has been that, until relatively recently, the majority of theorists have either consciously or unconsciously adopted this conception of career to a greater or lesser degree (Barley, 1989), which it could be argued has contributed to the increasing individualisation of career theory.

4.1.2 Individualistic accounts of career

As noted above, this defining of careers as a logical sequence of jobs might be considered as leading to a primarily individualistic focus in sociologically inclined career theory and research, although psychologically informed studies of career taking a more individualistic focus can be seen as dating back as early as the early 20th century (e.g. Parsons, 1909, cited in Savickas, 1997). And it is perhaps these more psychologically informed approaches that have come to dominate career theory during the latter part of the 20th Century (Arthur et al., 1989; Peake and McDowall, 2012; Derr and Laurent, 1989).

Leung (2008) outlined five of the most influential theories that have guided career guidance and counselling over the past few decades as:

1. The Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA) (Dawis, 2002, 2005; Dawis and Lofquist, 1984);
2. Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment (Holland-RIASEC) (Holland, 1985, 1997);
3. Self-concept Theory of Career Development or Life-span, Life-space Theory (Super, 1969, 1980);
4. Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise (Gottfredson, 1981, 2002);
5. Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent et al., 2002; Lent, 2005).

All five of these career theories can be described as being primarily psychological in nature and might be seen as falling into the second and third types of career theory identified by Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) mentioned above. In particular, the first three of the above theories can be seen as being rooted in the individual differences tradition and trait-and-factor theory (Leung, 2008; Savickas, 1997) and the latter two could be described as being rooted in developmental and social cognitive traditions (Leung, 2008). It could be argued that one of the overarching features of all of these theories is that they attempt to describe the processes and stages by which individual careers develop, with the overall aim being to help guide the career choices of individuals, and to some extent organisations. In addition, all of the these theories view career in terms of the relationship between individual characteristics and the environment, with most relying on positivistic, objectivist or essentialist assumptions

about personality, the social and psychological determinants of careers, or the stages by which they unfold (Chen, 2003; Stead, 2004).

Because of the positivistic overtones to these theories, one criticism that could be levelled at them is that of being overly deterministic, as positivism tends towards reductionism and determinism (Stead, 2004), thus leaving little space for human agency or the emergence of new forms of working. Although attempts have been made to allow space for agency within these theories (e.g. Gottfredson, 2002, 2005; Super, 1990), reference to 'biological heritage', 'genetic proclivities' and situational determinants arguably leave these theories open to accusations of positivistic and deterministic overtones. Likewise the assumption that personality can be reduced to and measured as traits. Similarly, in the first two theories listed above the focus on personality traits and matching individuals to occupations and work environments and the measurement of psychological constructs, such as self-efficacy in SCCT, also leave these theories open to similar criticisms related to reductionist and positivist tendencies.

Although these individualistic approaches have undoubtedly made important contributions to our understanding of career (Barley, 1989; Chen, 2003; Leung, 2008) there has been a noted move away from positivistic accounts in favour of more postmodern and constructionist accounts (Guindon and Richmond, 2005). Peake and McDowall (2012) round up some of the main criticisms identified in the literature that have been levelled at 'traditional' individualistic approaches as:

1. They often assume career choice is a rational process involving a narrow range of factors and so is potentially limiting in perspective;

2. Vocational development and trait-factor approaches fail to capture the complexity and dynamism of modern experience;

3. A number of studies have found poor correspondence between job/environment fit and outcome measures such as performance and satisfaction;

4. Traditional approaches have often employed a narrow definition of career success as measurable by tangible factors such as pay, promotions or bonuses.

Others have questioned the extent to which supposedly universal theories and constructs are applicable across contexts and cultures outside of the mainly white

American context in which the theories were primarily conceived and applied (e.g. Stead, 2004; Leung, 2008). Stead (2004) also notes that the conception of personality in the above theories is often essentialist and seen as relatively fixed in nature. Whereas Stead argues that personality is not fixed, but rather is a construct that varies according to time and context depending on the specific social interaction the person is engaged in.

Furthermore, individualistic approaches may fail to fully take account of the complex interactional and embedded nature of careers (Young and Valach, 2004; Collin and Young, 1986; Peake and McDowall, 2012, Cohen, Duberley and Mallon, 2004). Consequently, theorists have increasingly sought to apply post-modernist and social constructionist approaches to the study of career, often taking inspiration from the early approaches outlined above (e.g. Coupland, 2004; Young and Collin, 2004; Young and Valach, 2004; Savickas, 2012). In these conceptualisations, career is not defined as a 'thing' or social fact that is unchanging in its meaning, bounds or structure. Rather attempts are made to understand career from the perspectives of individuals, as social beings, themselves (Young and Valach, 2004). In this respect, career becomes once again a lens through which social action and social processes can be viewed (Young and Collin, 2004; Coupland, 2004). In addition, the move away from an overly positivistic and individualistic view of careers allows for the consideration of the individual located within the social context, while leaving space for agency and the emergence of new forms of work practices, of which internships may well be considered.

4.1.3 Post-modern and social constructionist accounts of career

Barley (1989) in his overview of the work of the Chicago School noted similarities between 'career' as conceptualised by Hughes and his students and the 'structuration theory' as proposed by Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984), arguing that both are interested in how institutions "jointly 'constitute' and are 'constituted by' the actions of individuals living their daily lives" (p52). Thus, careers offer a point of contact for empirical investigation of the relationship between individuals and the institutional realm, and structuration theory offers a conceptual structure that is in keeping with that of the Chicago School. In this vein, constructivism and postmodern

thinking have grown in influence in career theory as careers practitioners have sought approaches that are “closer to the everyday situations of practice than those available through [‘traditional’] career research and theory” (Young and Collin, 2004, p374).

Young and Collin (2004) in overviewing the contribution of constructivism and social constructionism to the field of careers research identify four main ‘discourses’ which “reflect the way we talk, think and act about career” (p379):

1) ‘Dispositions discourse’ – seen as emerging during the 20th century with the growth of Taylorism and the fragmenting of jobs into their basic elements, this discourse is based on the theories of personality and vocational interests, and seeks to match individuals to jobs;

2) ‘Contextualising discourse’ – looks at how individuals fit in with their social context and wider patterns of social structures, power and inequality;

3) ‘Discourse of subjectivity and narrative’ – looks at how individuals construct a sense of their self in relation to their social context over time through “narrative, autobiography, life story, and the subjective career” (p381);

4) ‘The processes discourse’ – rooted in counselling theory this discourse focuses on the processes involved in the development of career, such as decision making, cognitive and social processes, and lifespan development;

Young and Collin (2004) argue that ‘constructivisms’ help uncover and make visible these discourses and enable examination of how people view their own careers, the context within which they are forged, and the processes involved in constructing career. In addition, with their focus on how knowledge is historically, socially and culturally constructed constructivisms also reveal the processes by which new forms and patterns are made.

Young and Valach’s (2004) ‘Contextual Action Theory’, located within the ‘processes discourse’ level of career theory, posits that goal-directed action provides the link between individuals and their social context. They argue that the social realm impacts on individual action through joint, social, long-term processes. In this view, individuals construct careers through jointly engaging in goal-directed action and projects, thus providing the link between the individual and the social. In this context internships and education to work transitions in general might be seen as projects with access to the labour market as a goal, at least within the popular discourse on

internships. Rather than being a cognitive/rational process within a framework of dispositions and environment, in contextual action theory agency is seen as the "embodiment in the existential reality of our lives" (Young and Valach, 2004, p509). In this sense agency is seen as located in the 'doing' rather than the contemplating or planning. 'Intentionality', and by extension agency, stems from our engagement in our past and future, as we seek to enact the narrative of joint projects and, in the longer term, career. In this framework, individual motivations to undertake internships can be seen in the context of the journey graduates construct from their past to future careers, from their educational experiences to their intended goals. Motivations will vary from person to person, but the discourse within the literature and wider public debates is that the defining feature of internships is that they are completed as part of a planned career, that is, they can be seen as actions or projects with an intended outcome.

Making the discourses that surround career visible is one of the key contributions of social constructionisms to career theory, which in turn helps us to understand social processes (Young and Collin, 2004). Employing a similar social constructionist approach Coupland (2004), in a qualitative study of graduate trainees, argued that common sense understandings of 'career' provide a backdrop to graduates' individual accounts. Although in much of the academic literature and lay discourse the term career is frequently used "as if it were commonly understood what it means" (p515), Coupland found that rather than sharing one common view of career, participants 'deployed' and 'denied' aspects of careers for themselves in seeking to construct a narrative that seemed authentic to them and made their account plausible in the context of the interaction (in this case the interview). In the study trainees took differing positions in relation to 'career' as a 'plan' in order make sense of their actions, something that Coupland interpreted as evidence of the 'fluid and contestable' nature of careers. This shows how career can be interpreted in different ways within a given context and that individuals draw on common understandings and discourses when trying to give meaning to their own careers, actions and reflections.

The implications of this for the current study is that it is likely that graduates draw upon common ideas about internships and the graduate labour market when considering their chances in the labour market and deciding how best to navigate them. If they think internships offer an opportunity to develop their employability and that they are the best option open to them this is likely to be reflected in their choices and perceptions. Of course, employing this framework, this does not necessarily

mean that the purported benefits will be forthcoming. The extent to which internships do help graduates develop various skills and competencies in practice is yet to be established, as has been noted in chapter two, particularly given the wide discrepancies in the sorts of tasks internships involve. However, it could be argued that prevailing discourses related to employability and career development mean that internships are seen as a way for individuals to develop themselves and to try out different careers. In addition, the same discourses might be viewed as legitimising the practice as a way for employers to shift the responsibility for career development onto individuals.

4.2 Transitions into employment

Closely related to the study of career is the study of labour market transitions. The term ‘transitions’ can refer to transitions between mid-career jobs or occupations (e.g. Peake and McDowall, 2012), but of particular relevance to graduate internships is the study of education to labour market transitions and youth transitions. In this context ‘transitions’ can be seen as “time-dependent passages of individuals between life spheres” (Heinz, 2009, p4), or in other words moving from one sphere of action to another (e.g. from the sphere of education into the sphere of work). Conceived of in this way, studies of youth and labour market transitions can be seen as “sitting at the crossroads of social reproduction” (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007, p2) and thus provide an opportunity to investigate patterns of continuity and change (MacDonald, 2011). Though many earlier studies of youth and labour market transitions tended to focus on structural features, theories emphasising individual agency have become more prominent in recent years (Furlong, 2009). This section outlines some of the key theories relating to labour market transitions and highlights the main developments within this conceptual framework. It is argued that key changes in the labour market have led to a lengthening of transitions into work and adulthood, and increasing fragmentation and individualisation of pathways. As such, it is argued that graduates of today, and young people more generally, are increasingly expected to take responsibility for their transitions into the labour market with a greater level of uncertainty than experienced by previous generations.

It has been noted that there has been considerable debate in the literature as to the extent to which there has been change or continuity in terms of labour market

transitions in advanced economies (Furlong, 2009). While many researchers emphasise changes in the ways in which transitions are structured and played out (e.g. Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009; Inui, 2009), others either emphasise continuity (e.g. Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009), or note that while pathways have changed the overall patterns of inequality persist (e.g. Roberts, 2009). However, despite some disagreement as to the balance between continuity and change a number of common patterns can be identified in the literature, namely that education to work transitions are tending to occur later on than they used to, take longer to navigate, and have increasingly uncertain outcomes. The remainder of this section outlines the main arguments in the literature and attempts to locate the practice of internships within this framework.

4.2.1 Changing transitions

In tandem with, and possibly as a consequence of, the processes of labour market change and flexibilisation discussed in the previous chapter, some theorists have argued that a number of pressures, such as developments in technology, de-industrialisation, occupational restructuring, increasing employment insecurity and flexibility, collapses in youth employment during the 1980s and 2010s, and changing economic conditions, have led to changes in the life course and the timing and duration of transitions (MacDonald, 2009; Roberts, 2009; Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Inui, 2009). In addition, old collective biographies and pathways, dominated by a sense of place (e.g. school to local industry), have been fragmented in such a way that young people have to be reflexive and take charge of their own career (Roberts, 2009).

Heinz (2009) has approached the study of education to employment transitions from the point of view of life course studies. In his 'self-socialisation' model (Heinz, 2002, 2009) individuals must navigate pathways in order to transition between different life phases, of which the education to work transition is particularly important. Social origin, educational experiences, networks, opportunity structures and institutional arrangements impact on individuals' Biographical Action Orientations (BAO), which in turn affect the way people navigate transitions through interpretation of skills demands and career options open to them. Heinz (2009) argues that during the latter half of the 20th century institutional arrangements related to education, employment, social welfare and cultural traditions led to an institutionalised male life-course

pattern from education, work to retirement reflecting the youth, adulthood, old age, life phases. Transitions between these phases were relatively structured and occurred at fairly predictable ages in the life course. However, changes in educational arrangements and in the youth labour market have meant that 'age markers' that used to signal the timing of transitions have become less normative and therefore life-courses no longer follow "socially expected and culturally transmitted age-norms" (p3). In addition, a move from standard forms of employment to more flexible and precarious employment, particularly in the youth labour market, means that the route to adulthood has become more complex and tricky to coordinate with an expectation for individuals to take greater responsibility for navigating pathways and developing employability.

Although this view of transitions emphasises the role of agency in constructing a "self-determined and subjectively meaningful transition to work" (p5), it also recognises the impact that structural factors such as social origin, social and cultural capital, and institutional arrangements have on transitions, and it is argued that institutional arrangements that are aligned with the idea of flexibility, lifelong learning and employability suit individuals with certain types of BAO, and with certain types of social and educational backgrounds, more than others.

Other theorists have similarly argued that major changes in industrialised countries have led to delayed and lengthening education to employment transitions. MacDonald (2009) has argued that global economic and social changes have meant that the importance of youth employment has declined as labour market entry is postponed "pending lengthier periods of post-compulsory education" (p167). Whilst noting that debate is ongoing about the extent to which employment precariousness and insecurity have taken hold of the labour market (e.g. Fevre, 2007; Doogan, 2009 – discussed in chapter three), it has been argued that it is the youth labour market that has been most affected by increasing insecurity (MacDonald, 2009; Stone, 2012).

At the same time public policy has sought to promote higher education as the main institutional pathway into work in a purported knowledge based economy. Thus, young people are faced with either 'slow-track' transitions through further and higher education, or 'fast-track' transitions (i.e. going straight from school to work and parenthood). MacDonald (2011) notes that whilst it is often recognised that those taking 'fast-track' transitions are at risk of insecurity and labour market disadvantage the assumption that 'slow-track' transitions are unproblematic may no longer be the

case. He cites a declining graduate premium, and increasing graduate unemployment and underemployment as evidence of this, and argues that oversupply of graduates means increased competition for graduate jobs, while non-graduates also face increased competition as employers seek to recruit the best candidates for traditionally non-graduate jobs. All of which leads to increased uncertainty in terms of the outcomes of pathways and transitions. Both MacDonald (2009) and Inui (2009) note that, although increasingly pluralised and individualised pathways have the potential for being emancipatory for a few with the best resources, or who choose this approach, a lack of predictable pathways may lead to increased precarity for those with fewer choices and resources.

In relation to the current study it could be argued that internships might be viewed in the context of delayed and lengthening transitions from education to work, and from youth to adulthood. In other words, part of what some theorists might term the new life phase of emerging adulthood (Arnett and Tanner, 2006), albeit in the context of pathways to adulthood "which are characterized by a low degree of institutionalization and demand a high degree of individual risk-taking and exploration of life chances" (Heinz, 2009, p8). In addition, internships might be viewed as comprising a form of 'slow-track' transition, albeit as part of a system of increasingly individualised pathways with, as yet, uncertain outcomes. And as highlighted above, some pathways may be more open to some people than others and more suited to people with the right kind of background and orientations (MacDonald, 2009; Heinz, 2009).

4.3 Higher Education, graduate jobs and the graduate labour market

Higher Education and the role it plays in the wider labour market and in terms of social mobility has been a major concern of theorists and public policy makers since at least the second half of the 20th century (see for example Ross, 2003a, 2003b, for an overview of the development of HE), but it has been of particular interest more recently in the light of recent developments such as the massification of HE, the shifting of the cost of HE from government to students, and government policy towards pursuit of a high-skill, high-wage economy (Leitch, 2006; BIS, 2011). This section discusses two conflicting views of the graduate labour market and how it

operates and evaluates some of the quantitative evidence in support of these two views. It is argued that rather than providing a level playing field in which individuals from any background can compete in order to access the best jobs, developments in the graduate labour market, including the massification of HE, have instead led to positional conflict that acts to reproduce patterns of labour market advantage and disadvantage. In this context, engaging in an internship can be seen as an attempt to develop credentials and to enhance employability through the development of the less tangible skills and attributes needed for graduates to position themselves above their peers in the labour market, albeit one where the intended outcomes are far from guaranteed.

4.3.1 Higher Education and the 'conventional' view of the graduate labour market as a meritocracy

One particular area of interest in this field has been the role that HE plays in the labour market and the implications HE has for social mobility. Current government policy sees the role of HE as developing the skills needed to prepare individuals for an economy where higher level skills are thought to be in increasing demand and of increasing benefit to the UK economy (Leitch, 2006; BIS, 2011). HE is assumed to generate innovation and entrepreneurialism and provide the skills needed in an economy increasingly characterised by technological advances and the use knowledge. This policy, it has been noted, is informed by market individualism and human capital theory, and on pursuing a 'high-skill, high-wage' strategy in a global labour market where it is increasingly difficult to compete with developing countries on price of labour in intermediate skill industries (Tholen, 2012; Tomlinson, 2008; Brown and Tannock, 2009). In this view, referred to by some scholars as the 'traditional' or 'conventional' view, increasing participation and widening access in HE is also seen as a means of reversing patterns of labour market disadvantage and increasing upwards social mobility as working class young people gain access to the qualifications needed to compete for jobs in an open and fair market (Tholen, 2012; Brown, 2013; Bathmaker et al., 2013).

Whilst this view of the labour market and the role of education has been questioned in the past (e.g. Archer, 2003a, 2003b; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Reay et al., 2001) it has come under renewed scrutiny in the light of recent policy developments

such as the massification of HE and moves towards shifting the costs of HE from government to individuals. In particular, for a number of years it has been argued that rather than enhancing social mobility HE actually reinforces patterns of advantage and disadvantage through socio-economic reproduction and inequalities in the access to credentials and the social and cultural capital needed to perform well in the graduate labour market (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). More recently it has been argued that even when those from less well-off backgrounds do achieve similar levels of credentials they still struggle to compete with their more privileged counterparts due to credential inflation and difficulties in accumulating the 'hard' and 'soft currencies' needed to get ahead in an increasingly positional labour market (Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Brown, Power, Tholen and Allouch, 2014; Furlong and Cartmel, 2009).

The 'conventional' view, it has been argued (e.g. Tholen, 2012; Tomlinson, 2008; Brown and Tannock, 2009), draws on the economic theories of Becker and others (e.g. Becker, 1964, 1993, 2006; Friedman, 1962; Nerdrum, 1998; Schultz, 1961, 1971 – cited in Tholen, 2012; Brown and Tannock, 2009) and posits that in a post-industrial society labour market success is increasingly dependent upon the development of skills and knowledge through education and the accumulation of educational credentials. Individuals are thought to invest in their own human capital through rationally weighing up the costs and benefits of various educational choices and employers rationally hire candidates who are expected to be the most productive (Tholen, 2012; Brown et al., 2014; Tholen, Brown, Power and Allouch, 2013). The labour market is seen as meritocratic in that those that put the effort into accumulating the relevant skills and credentials will be rewarded in the labour market with the best jobs and pay. The 'traditional' view recognises that there are inequalities in the means to access and accumulate credentials, but the market is seen as the most efficient and fair way of matching individuals to positions as it assumes that "individuals themselves largely determine labour market success" (Tholen, 2012, p269). In this view the role of HE is to provide the skills needed in an increasingly high tech and knowledge driven economy and the issue of social mobility is one of ensuring that people from less advantaged backgrounds have equal access to education. As participation in HE grows increasing numbers of graduates from disadvantaged and working class backgrounds will be able to take up the growing number of high-skill jobs that the knowledge economy generates, a view that has been increasingly taken up by UK education policy (e.g. Leitch, 2006; BIS, 2011).

4.3.2 Higher Education and socio-economic reproduction

However, for some considerable time socio-economic reproduction theorists have noted the tendency for children to take up the social positions of their parents and for "social forms and relationships to endure while ageing actors retire and are replaced by upcoming cohorts" (Roberts, 2009, p14). Whilst early studies in this area tended to focus on 'correspondencies' between the organisation of education and organisation work, whereby working class children were essentially prepared for working class lives, or on the ways youth culture could be used to reinforce working class identities, later theories emphasised how social classes deployed various means in order to maintain patterns of advantages (Roberts, 2009).

In this context, education and higher education acts as a structure of domination and a force of socio-economic reproduction. Individuals come to find their place in the world and labour market through the development of a subjective life-world which is largely determined by the ways in which they interact with the structures of their material and cultural context within which class and gender are key factors (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Education as an institution plays an important role in this process. Firstly, as middle class parents deploy their economic, social and cultural capital in order to make sure they are well positioned in the 'game'. And, secondly, as middle class symbolic and cultural capital is dominant in the educational system and so individuals who display the right knowledge and tastes are instantly identified as "educable and destined for success" while working class cultural capital is disparaged (Roberts, 2009, p16). As a consequence, the education system ensures that those from the middle classes are more able to accumulate the credentials and cultural capital, not to mention social capital, in order to enhance their position in the labour market and so "class advantages and disadvantage are transmitted down the generations in what appears to be an impartial and meritocratic process thereby not just reproducing but simultaneously legitimating social inequalities" (Roberts, 2009, p16-17).

Some theorists have disputed the claim that people's life chances are largely dependent on social advantage and disadvantage, and argue instead that individual ability is the best predictor of occupational outcomes (e.g. Saunders, 1997). In this view the labour market is perhaps more meritocratic than reproduction theories would suggest (Saunders, 1995, 1997). Alternatively, rational action theories (e.g.

Goldthorpe, 1996) recognise that patterns of social mobility and immobility persist, but in contrast to reproduction theories this is explained less in terms of differences in culture and tastes and more in terms of differences in the weighing up of costs and benefits in terms of available resources and perceptions of the possible, realistic outcomes. Roberts (2009) has argued that the latter theoretical framework perhaps provides a better explanation of the 'gradation' of chances between different levels within the overall class structure but notes that reproduction is still a major process in patterns of mobility and immobility.

4.3.3 The 'alternative' view: credential inflation and the positional graduate labour market

More recently, theorists have argued that not only does HE reinforce socio-economic reproduction through reinforcing inequalities in the access to credentials, but in addition credential inflation has led to an increasingly 'positional' labour market. Although the labour market is also seen as positional in the 'conventional view', outlined above, positioning is thought to be based on ability and educational credentials and so is seen as meritocratic and fair. However, in 'alternative view' it is not whether individuals possess or do not possess academic credentials that is important but rather where you stand in relation to others in terms of the relative value of those credentials and other less easily defined qualities, often bound up with issues of social class (e.g. Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Brown et al., 2014). Ware (2015a, 2015b) argues that changes in the role educational credentials play in the labour market that are meant to make things fairer have actually led to greater inequality. He argues that as HE has expanded faster than the growth of high skill jobs, individuals increasingly need to position themselves ahead of their peers by, for example, going to more reputable universities or gaining a postgraduate qualification. As the number of graduates with relevant credentials increases employers seek to filter the number of applicants to manageable levels by only shortlisting those with the best credentials. The consequence is a positional competition where "the value of what you have is related directly to what others have; what matters is position in the hierarchy" (Ware, 2015b, p2). In this 'scramble' competition starts to occur earlier and earlier in the education system and those who have the resources seek to advantage their children by sending them to private school, buying property within the catchment area of a good state school, or paying for personal tuition. Thus, an educational

policy that was meant to reduce inequality has ended up being one of the 'key institutions' in maintaining socio-economic reproduction. In this sense the 'traditional' view within which access to credentials is purported to be open and fair is argued to provide the 'myth' of meritocracy (Brown, 2013; Ware, 2015a; Tholen, 2012).

Brown and colleagues have made similar arguments regarding credential inflation and the effect it has had on the labour market (e.g. Brown, 2013; Brown et al., 2014; Brown and Hesketh, 2004). However, this view goes one step further by arguing that in seeking to recruit the most talented graduates employers are increasingly turning to additional signifiers of employability over and above educational credentials. For example, Brown and Hesketh (2004) argue that in the competition for high skill jobs it is personal capital, or the extent to which applicants are able to package their 'self' in order to "capitalize on those personal qualities valued by employers" (p34-35) that matters. These personal qualities are comprised of the 'hard' and 'soft' currencies of employability. 'Hard currencies' include various kinds of credentials such as educational credentials, work experiences and other kinds of formal achievements, whereas 'soft currencies' include more personal qualities such as personal skills, appearance, drive, persuasiveness, self-confidence, communication skills and charisma. It is argued that as more employers increasingly explicitly include these latter kinds of qualities in managerial criteria the 'rules of entry' and 'rules of the game' become increasingly personalised and it becomes harder to hide one's 'self' and cultural inheritance "behind the veiled screen of technical expertise" (p35). This focus on 'talent' and soft currencies, and the restructuring of the role of credentials in the labour market calls into question the traditional relationship between 'culture' and 'capital' as middle class families "find it more difficult to translate their cultural capital into credentials that retain market value" (Brown et al., 2014, p17). However, as it becomes more difficult for individuals to hide their socio-economic background there may be reasons to expect that those with the most resources will continue to be able to access opportunities to develop the sorts of qualities needed to package themselves well to employers. Indeed, Bathmaker et al. (2013) in a qualitative study of how students construct their employability found that middle class students were more able to access the sorts of extracurricular activities, work experiences and internships that may help them to develop the personal capital needed, and were more ready to 'play the game' in the graduate labour market.

In addition, studies have shown that students and graduates themselves share these competing discourses of the labour market to a greater or lesser extent. For example, in Bathmaker et al's (2013) study the researchers found that middle class students

more readily recognised the importance of relational position in competing for jobs and of 'playing the game' than their working class counterparts. Tholen (2012) found that, reflecting their different educational and labour market contexts, Dutch students understood the competition for graduate jobs in terms of a meritocratic view of the graduate labour market where absolute performance and matching skills to jobs were important, while British students saw the competition for jobs in terms of relative performance, ranking of candidates and the importance of signals. Similarly, Brown et al. (2014) found that French students were more likely to view competition in terms of absolute performance, while British students were more likely to view competition in terms of relative performance and the accumulation of currencies that go beyond educational performance, again both views reflecting the institutional context within which students are located. These studies highlight both the importance of the views and understandings of actors themselves in the graduate labour market, but also the importance of the institutional context within which the competition for jobs is played out. This has implications for internships as, on the one hand structural aspects of the of the labour market are likely to have a direct influence on graduates' chances, but also graduates' perceptions about their relative chances and the options open to them are likely to have an effect on the choices they make. In addition, as in the studies outlined above, there are reasons to assume that class may play a role in determining who is able to access the sorts of opportunities and experiences that will help graduates position themselves in the graduate labour market, such as work placements and other extracurricular activities (Bathmaker et al., 2013; Tomlinson, 2008). Internships might be seen as falling into this category, as has been suggested by others (e.g. Smith, 2010; Lawton and Potter, 2010). In this way classed patterns of advantage and disadvantage may be extended into the graduate labour market as those with the means to do so seek to consolidate their position by deploying their superior economic, social and cultural capitals (Roberts, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984).

4.3.4 Recent evidence on the returns of higher education and social mobility

Recent figures on the financial returns of HE appear to support the view of an increasingly congested graduate labour market to some extent. Whilst there continues to be some debate about the precise returns of higher education, most studies show some 'graduate premium' over non-graduates (usually compared to

those with two or more A Levels). Most studies would not dispute that there has been a reduction in the graduate premium coinciding with the rapid expansion of HE during the 1990s. However, while some would argue that there is a wider general decline in the returns to a higher education, others would argue that the graduate premium has held up in recent years overall. For example, while Conlon and Patrignani (2011) using data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) observed a general decline in returns during the period from 1996 to 2009, finding an overall NET graduate premium of £120k for men and £82k for women, others have argued that the graduate premium held up relatively well over a similar period (O'Leary and Sloane, 2011; Walker and Zhu, 2013).

While some of the differences in these findings can be explained by differences in methodology of estimation, these general trends in the overall figures belie a certain level of differentiation in returns. For example, despite arguing that the overall average graduate premium held up in recent years, O'Leary and Sloane (2011) found a general decline in returns among men in the lower earnings quartile for the 1979 onward cohort and in all but the top earnings quartile for women from the 1970-1979 cohort onwards. These cohorts and ability groups (assuming earnings reflect ability to some extent) might be seen as those most effected by the expansion of HE during the 1990s, thus, partially fitting in with the view of the graduate labour market put forward by Ware and others who suggest that increasing numbers of graduates find themselves working in occupations that did not traditionally require a degree (e.g. Ware, 2015a, 2015b).

In addition, nearly all of the above studies on the returns to higher education have observed dramatic differences in returns depending upon subject studied, grades, and gender (Walker and Zhu, 2011, 2013; Conlon and Patrignani, 2011; O'Leary and Sloane, 2011), with graduates from some subjects even predicted to see negative returns. For example, Conlon and Patrignani (2011) estimated that the lifetime earnings NET of tax and study costs to be £5k for male Mass Communications and Documentation (MCD) graduates, £1k for male Historical and Philosophical Studies (HPS) graduates and -£15k for male graduates from Creative Arts and Design (CAD) subjects. This compares to an average of £121k across all subjects for men, and an average of £403k for male medics (the highest earning group). Similarly, Walker and Zhu (2013) found a negative lifetime premium for CAD and HPS male graduates compared to an average across all subjects of £168k for men and £252k for women. In addition to differences in outcomes based on gender, grades and subject studied, a study by the Sutton Trust using data on graduates' employment situation six

months and three and a half years after graduation found that institution studied at and social background also had an impact occupational and earnings outcomes (De Vries, 2014). Again, these findings would appear to support the view that some graduates may not see a financial benefit from higher education and that HE may benefit some graduates more than others (Ware, 2015a, 2015b). It also, would appear to support the idea of a positional labour market where it is where you are in the hierarchy that determines rewards, particularly as social class and studying at a more prestigious institution appear to play a significant part.

In terms of the role HE plays in terms of social mobility and by extension the extent to which the graduate labour market can be seen as meritocratic, again the evidence is mixed. For example, Li and Devine (2011) using British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and General Household Survey (GHS) data for 1991 to 2005 found that in terms of absolute social mobility while men's upward mobility has declined and downward mobility has increased (i.e. men's overall social mobility has got worse), women's absolute social mobility seems to have improved over the period, although their chances for social mobility are still less favourable than for men. However, as Li and Devine note, a genuine meritocracy would involve downwards as well as upwards mobility, and in their study they found evidence of a slight increase in fluidity among both men and women, which may support a general weakening of the link between class of origin and class of destination. Employing the same data, but looking specifically at the question of the relationship between origins, education and destination, they found only partial support for the 'meritocracy thesis' (Devine and Li, 2013). While they found that the relationship between origins and education, and origins and destinations has weakened, thus supporting the thesis, they also found a weakening of the relationship between education and destinations, which is contrary to the idea of increasing meritocratic selection.

Bukodi and Goldthorpe (2011) also failed to find an increasing importance of educational qualifications in occupational attainment. Using data on men from three national cohort studies[1] and charting respondents' positions up to the age of 34, while they noted that education had a strong effect on occupational outcomes this effect had not increased for the three successive cohorts in the latter part of the 20th

[1] The three studies were the Medical National Survey of Health and Development (NSHD), the National Child Development Study (NCDS) and the British Cohort Study (BCS), each following children born in one week in 1946, 1958, and 1970 respectively.

century going into the new millennium. Contrary to the findings of Devine and Li (2013) though, Bukodi and Goldthorpe (2011) also found that class origins had a significant effect on occupational attainment and that this effect had *not* diminished over the three cohorts. They concluded that there was little evidence of a secular change in the processes of intergenerational social mobility. Thus, their finding would appear to undermine the idea of an increasingly meritocratic labour market.

On the specific issue of the role of HE in reducing social inequality, education policy has generally been based on the assumption that HE, when engaged in by those from less advantaged backgrounds, will tend to help social mobility (Archer, 2003b). This view would be shared by the 'meritocracy thesis' and the 'traditional' view of the graduate labour market. Analysis of destinations data by De Vries (2014) provided mixed evidence in relation to this. In his study, which looked at the occupations and pay of graduates three and half years after graduation using data from the Destinations from Higher Education Longitudinal survey (LDLHE), although there appeared to be some evidence that HE tended to act as 'social leveller' there was still some evidence that those from the most advantaged backgrounds still performed better in the graduate labour market. All else being equal, such as institution attended and subject of degree, graduates from different social class backgrounds tended to do equally well in the graduate labour market three and a half years after graduation. However, at the same time, De Vries found that even when graduates had the same degree classification in the same subject from the same institution, those who had been to public school tended to be paid more and were more likely to have a professional job. This finding fitted in with findings from previous research where graduates who were privately educated were more likely to have a higher status occupation than those from state schools, even after controlling for A Levels, HE institution attended and subject studied (MacMillan, Tyler and Vignoles, 2013).

From the quantitative evidence outlined above it is not entirely clear which view of the graduate labour market, the 'traditional' or 'alternative' view, finds the most support. Some studies appear to show a weakening relationship between social origins and destinations, offering partial support for the meritocracy thesis. However, other similar studies show that social inequalities persist, arguing that the link between origins and destinations has not declined. Similarly, whilst some studies looking at the returns to HE argue that the graduate premium has held up in recent years, others indicate a marked decline in the graduate premium corresponding to the rapid expansion of HE in the 1990s. In addition, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the financial returns of HE differ significantly depending upon a range of

factors such as grades, subject studied, institution, gender and social background, so much so that some graduates may be unlikely to see any positive return to their investment in HE. Overall, it would appear that while educational attainment is a significant factor in occupational attainment, social class still has a role to play and that some fare better in the graduate labour market than others. In addition, much of the evidence does seem to point to some sort of sorting of graduates based on more than just grades and possession or not of a degree, which it could be argued tends to point more towards the idea of an increasingly congested and positional labour market. In this context, internships might be seen as an attempt for graduates to position themselves more favourably in the 'scramble' for the most sought after jobs.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical context within which the study of the role of internships can be located and highlights some of the key theoretical tools that can be used to understand and assess internships. On the one hand any study of internships has to take account some sense of the purpose and aims of graduate internships from the point of view of those involved, namely graduates. In this respect internships can be understood both in terms of transitions into employment from education and the development of career. From this perspective internships can be viewed as an emerging pathway in an increasingly complex, fragmented and extended transitional period in individuals' life-course (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011), and in the context of an increasingly insecure, flexibilised and positional labour market (Thompson, 2013; Tholen, 2012; Brown et al, 2014). In this context internships can be viewed as an attempt to 'try out' for jobs and for graduates to position themselves favourably relative to their peers (Smith, 2010; Tomlinson, 2008; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). At the same time, whilst recognising the structural and institutional context within which the practice is located, any study of such an emerging practice has to take account of the goal-directed nature of internships and thus allow space for the consideration of agency as well as structural factors. The practice can be considered as emerging against the backdrop of a rapidly changing labour market where many traditional, localised education to work pathways are becoming less commonplace and where the responsibility for navigating a successful transition is increasingly falling upon the individual (Heinz, 2009; Roberts, 2009).

In addition, the practice of internships has to be viewed in the context of an increasingly crowded and positional graduate labour market, in which positioning is based on complex classed processes, rather than a fair and meritocratic sorting based on ability and educational credentials (Tholen, 2012; Brown et al., 2014). From this perspective, the massification of HE along with structural changes in the economy and attempts by employers to narrow down the increasing numbers of applicants for higher level jobs means that graduates are increasingly called upon to accumulate the credentials, cultural capital, and hard and soft currencies in order to make themselves more employable and to position themselves above their peers in the graduate labour market (Brown and Hesketh, 2004). Thus, engagement in internships can also be viewed as an attempt by individuals to gain relevant experience, enhance their CVs and articulate various competencies and attributes to potential employers.

Finally, it is important to consider how the practice of internships fits in with wider patterns of advantage and disadvantage. On the one hand the ‘traditional’ view is that the expansion of HE should mean the widening of access to opportunities to accumulate the credentials needed to succeed in a meritocratic labour market. Conversely, the ‘alternative’ view argues that all that has happened is that social inequalities are reproduced and extended through the inequalities in access and the segmenting of experiences within HE. In either view, the practice of unpaid and low paid internships can be seen as compounding inequalities in the access to the means to develop the hard and soft currencies needed in the graduate labour market. However, some argue that well organised, quality, paid graduate opportunities may be beneficial to labour market entrants, provided that recruitment practices allow for inequalities experienced by applicants in the pursuit of hard and soft currencies (GPCF, 2013; Milburn, 2009).

5 Methodology

The previous three chapters have discussed the literature in relation to graduate internships and the theoretical and labour market contexts within which the practice is located. Chapter two discusses research in the academic and policy literature that has looked at the phenomenon of internships. It is argued that little is known about the prevalence of internships and although there is much speculation about the potential benefits and problems associated with them there is a distinct lack of generalisable quantitative research on these issues. Chapter three describes the general context within which the practice of internships is emerging. It is argued that, although there is debate about the precise nature, causes and speed of labour market change, there is a general drive towards greater flexibility among employers, increasing insecurity for many workers and a cautiousness among employers about committing to labour market entrants. Some have suggested that the practice of internships can be seen as reflecting these tendencies, representing an opportunity for risk averse employers to 'try before they buy', to procure temporary workers for no or low wages, and representing a form of precarious work for individuals (Smith, 2010; Frenette, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

Chapter four describes the conceptual frameworks within which internships may be conceptualised from a perspective of individuals, their careers and transitions from education into an increasingly competitive and positional graduate labour market. In this context internships can be conceived of as an attempt by individuals to acquire relevant work experience and credentials in an attempt to gain advantage over their contemporaries and forge a career (Tomlinson, 2013; Smith, 2010). At the same time the practice is simultaneously viewed as potentially enabling social mobility (if operated fairly) or, more often, as a potential barrier (e.g. GPCF, 2013; Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010).

This chapter sets out the research methodology employed in the current study. The first section sets out the theoretical approach that will be adopted for the research.

Drawing upon the commonalities between several theoretical frameworks the research puts forward a position that sees both quantitative and qualitative methodologies as complementary lines of enquiry in social research. It is argued that due to the shared and intersubjective nature of the socially constructed world, social reality has the appearance of being objectively real, simultaneously enabling and constraining action. And through the ongoing patterns of everyday action social practices are imbued with structure. It is argued that while this framework does not ascribe to a realist ontology, the intensely interwoven and intersubjective nature of social reality means that: 1) social structures are so ingrained in social knowledge and cultural practices they are experienced 'as real'; 2) because of their deeply-rooted, shared and intersubjective nature they have a certain inertia that requires a certain critical mass to alter or change them; and 3) because of this their power to enable and constrain action is immense. As a consequence, social structures and institutional practices can be viewed, for all intents and purposes, as objectively real. Thus, despite the fact that knowledge and social forms are seen as socially constructed, the shared and intersubjective nature of social reality, combined with the structural aspects of ongoing patterns of social interaction, open up the individual and institutional faces to study using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods are employed in this study as a complement to findings from previous qualitative studies (e.g. Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Frenette, 2013; Leonard et al., 2016).

The second section then goes on to describe in more detail the research methods employed in the study and methodological choices in relation to data collection and analysis.

5.1 Theoretical approach

As outlined in chapter two, internships have been studied and discussed from a variety of perspectives and have focussed on a number of issues including: developmental aspects, how they fit in with careers, employability, transitions into work, socio-economic advantage and disadvantage, and social mobility. Although often the research paradigm adopted has not been explicit, studies of internships can be considered as looking at the practice from a range of theoretical frameworks. For example, in the evaluations of government-backed schemes, although the theoretical

framework is not explicit, discussion of employability skills as reducible to measurable attributes implies an objectivist ontology and fits in with 'skills in the person' conceptions of skill (Noon et al., 2013). Similarly, studies such as those by Milburn (2009) and Lawton and Potter (2010) highlight structural implications of internships in terms of issues related to patterns of advantage, disadvantage and questions of social mobility. McLeod et al's (2011) study is one of the few that has been explicit in terms of the theoretical framework employed in the team's study of careers in the advertising industry, adopting a social constructionist approach drawing upon situated learning theory, whereas Siebert and Wilson (2013) in the UK and Frenette (2013) in the USA employed an 'interpretive approach'. Employing a Foucauldian analysis Leonard et al. (2016) do take into account concerns related to structure and agency in their qualitative study. However, it could be argued that across these studies there are still structural/institutional and individual aspects that need to be addressed, such as how the practice fits in with wider processes related to careers, transitions into employment and socio-economic reproduction.

Given the gaps in the literature on internships, which largely relate to quantitative aspects such as extent of the practice, patterns of participation and outcomes, it would be tempting to adopt a theoretical stance that is commonly associated with a quantitative methodology. However, taking an overly simplistic and positivistic approach, it could be argued, would fail to take proper account of the social nature of knowledge, the full individual and institutional implications of internships, and the context within which the practice is emerging. In addition, positivistic accounts of careers and labour market transitions have been criticised for not fully taking account of context within which careers are lived out and for failing to provide an adequate account of the impact of agency (e.g. Young and Collin, 2004; Heinz, 2009). Similarly, traditional approaches to career from both sociological and psychological approaches have been criticised for failing to attend to both the objective and subjective faces of career (Barley, 1989). As outlined in chapters three and four, internships can be seen as falling within the context of changing labour markets and employment practices on the one hand, and within the area of career and labour market transitions on the other. In addition, due to the emerging nature of internships, the place the practice occupies in relation to their wider context is yet to be established. Therefore, the theoretical approach needs to account for social and labour market structures on the one hand and individual reflexivity and agency on the other. A critical realist approach might, it could be argued, present one solution to this. However, it is argued here that its reliance on a realist ontology opens up the

approach up to similar criticisms to positivist and post-positivist approaches because it fails to ascribe enough primacy to the importance of socially shared and culturally mediated knowledge, as will be argued later in this chapter. Thus, a theoretical framework is proposed that takes account of these considerations whilst at the same time attempts to provide an integrated position in terms of epistemology and ontology.

In order to address these aspects the position taken by this study draws upon common themes within several different conceptual frameworks, particularly: social constructionism and structuration theory. The key common theme within these frameworks is the intersubjectivity of socially constructed knowledge and the common-sense world. It is argued that the shared and intersubjective nature of the social world, although not objective in the physical sense, may be considered as objective dependent upon the extent to which it is institutionalised through patterns of everyday action and communication. This, it is argued, opens up the investigation of the individual and structural aspects of internships to both quantitative and qualitative methodologies as valid lines of enquiry.

5.1.1 Intersubjectivity and common-sense world

The starting point for the theoretical framework adopted in this study is the psychological need for us as social beings to be able to understand and interact with one another in social interactions. The root of this problem stems from the proclamation of the subjectivity of experience *a la* Descartes. Given that we can only really be sure of the fact that we exist and that all other experience is subjective we might speculate as to how it is that we are able to function in our everyday lives. One solution to this problem was elaborated in the work of some of the early phenomenologists Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz and their conceptions of the ‘life-world’ (see Gurwitsch, 1962). This ‘life-world’ comprises our everyday world of existence and consists of “both natural material things and cultural objects” and in it we “have our existence, carry on our activities, pursue all our goals” (Gurwitsch, 1962, p51). Despite the fact that we can never really be sure others see the world in the same way we do, in order to be able to act and interact in the world we take it for granted that others see the world in much the same way as we do. Doubts concerning details about the world can and do arise, but the ‘life-world’ as a whole is never doubted. In this sense the life world is not experienced as a ‘private’ world but

rather as a “public world, common to all of us, that is, for an intersubjective world” (p52).

Schutz elaborated the social nature and origin of our everyday world further by arguing that throughout our lives we develop a ‘stock of knowledge at hand’, which is seen as being made up partially of knowledge learnt through personal experiences but chiefly of knowledge and practices passed on to us by others (Gurwitsch, 1962). In everyday life it is implicitly assumed that another’s ‘stock of knowledge at hand’ will be substantially the same as our own due to the fact that it is derived from the same world that we encounter him/her in. However, as Gurwitsch notes this assumption needs some qualification as “when I know the same things as my fellowmen, I may and do know them differently” (1962, 59). According to Schutz this arises because of differences in perspective resulting from ‘biographically determined situations’, which are unique to each of us. However, these differences are overcome through the ‘reciprocity of perspectives’ via two processes:

1) ‘Interchangeability of standpoints’ – being able to put one’s self, conceptually, in another’s shoes and vice versa;

2) Through the assumption that differences in perspectives can be considered immaterial and that our fellow men assume the same.

In this way the world can be said to be ‘inter-subjective’. The world is interpreted, but interpretation is socially derived and thus taken for granted. Knowledge is socially derived and therefore socialised *vis-a-vis* the reciprocity of perspectives. The intersubjective world is in the first instance a ‘public’ world and, as such, we can attune our actions to those of others. In this way the intersubjective world “appears as social reality, as a world common to all of us and hence as objective” (Gurwitsch, 1962, p63-64). In other words, because we assume others see the social world in much the same way as we do it appears as objective. Even if another actor has a different view (and/or motives) to our own, the reciprocity of perspectives means that we can anticipate what meaning a given object or action has for that person based upon assumptions about the typical interests, understandings and goals a person of that position may have, by drawing upon our stock of knowledge at hand.

While Husserl and Schutz highlighted the intersubjectivity of this ‘social reality’, both noted that different actors with different experiences and perspectives can and do see the world differently, but the former emphasised the shared nature of the common-sense world while the latter emphasised differences in perspective

(Gurwitsch, 1962). This emphasis in the differences in perspectives, and on common-sense understandings (Bryman, 2016), could be argued to have led to phenomenology's focus on individual understanding and qualitative research methods. However, it is contended here that this emphasis on individual meaning making and qualitative methodology is not necessary, as will be described. Despite individual variability in understandings, the intersubjective and socially shared and derived nature of knowledge means that examination of the extent to which understandings and experiences are shared is a complimentary endeavour to investigations of individual meaning making within social research. In addition, focussing too much on the uniqueness of individual perspectives arguably attributes too much weight to the individual at the expense of the social. If it were not for the social and intersubjective nature of common-sense knowledge social interaction would be more or less impossible.

5.1.2 Social construction of reality and structuration theory

Following on from Husserl and Schutz a number of theorists have advanced revisions to the above view of the intersubjective, common-sense world. Examples of this can be seen in the 'structuration' theory of Anthony Giddens (1979, 1986) and in social constructionism as presented by Berger and Luckman (1966) and subsequently developed by a range of theorists from a variety of disciplines (Burr, 2003). Both of these approaches emphasise the importance of intersubjectivity in the construction of social reality but can be seen as taking slightly different positions in terms of ontology. It is argued that in both cases, and in the case of the account of the common-sense world outlined above, there are elements that are useful in the present study and in studies where considerations of structure and agency are key to understanding the social world. This section briefly outlines key aspects of these theories and discusses commonalities and differences within them before moving on to suggest how these commonalities can help address issues related to debates about structure and agency in the following section.

Social constructionism, as proposed by Berger and Luckman (1966) can be seen as an attempt to explain how our social reality comes into being. Drawing on ideas from the work of phenomenologists such as Schutz (highlighted above) and of symbolic

interactionists such as George Herbert Mead, Berger and Luckman built on conceptions of the intersubjective world and described the processes by which this intersubjective world comes to constitute our social reality. According to Berger and Luckman (1966) the world of everyday life that is available to our consciousness, is the most urgent form of reality and has a privileged position in consciousness. It appears to us as 'real' and objective because it is "constituted by an order objects that have been designated *as* objects before my appearance on the scene" and the language of everyday life "provides me with the necessary objectifications and posits the order within which these make sense" (p35). This 'reality' is only partly made up of things that are physically present in the 'here and now' and in order to make sense of it we must make use of resources that are not really present such as language and knowledge that is passed on to us through social interaction. In a similar vein to Schutz and Husserl this social reality is seen as shared and intersubjective, people assume it is as real to others as it is to themselves. And although people are capable of understanding that others' 'reality' is not identical to their own, as they have their own perspective, there is assumed to be a certain degree of correspondence. Thus, although the world is socially constructed – and so is not objectively real in an ontological sense – because we habitually live and interact in this intersubjective world and because of the immediate and taken for granted nature of it, it is experienced *as* objectively real.

Since their development, these ideas about how we socially construct our world through an ongoing process of interaction have gained significant ground in the social sciences in one form or another, although there is some variability within the paradigm particularly on issues of ontology and on agency (Young and Collin, 2004). Burr (2003) notes that there is no one clear definition of 'social constructionism' but rather 'family resemblances'. However, one unifying feature is a commitment to an anti-essentialist ontology – rejecting the notion that there are essential properties of objects that are directly observable – and a 'questioning' of realism (Burr, 2003). 'Questioning' of realism in the sense that, although most schools of thought within the paradigm are anti-realist some that might be seen as social constructionist (such as critical realism) embrace a realist ontology. However, it has been noted that social constructionism is generally considered as anti-realist and anti-essentialist, asserting that language and social action 'constitute' rather than reflect reality (Young and Collin, 2004). This has implications for the current study, both in terms of the relationship between structure and agency, and in terms of methodology, as will be discussed. This is particularly the case as research methods are often assumed to

carry particular epistemological and ontological commitments with them (Bryman, 2016).

A similar, but slightly different account of the social world can also be seen in ‘structuration theory’ (Giddens, 1979, 1984, 1986). This theory can be seen as an attempt to overcome what he termed the problem of dualism within the social sciences. That is, the tendency for researchers within the social sciences to recede into two separate camps of ‘objectivism’ and ‘subjectivism’. The former, including various forms of positivism, structuralism and post-structuralism, he felt to be strong on explanations of institutions but weak on action, whereas the latter, he argued, was strong on agency but weak on institutions (Giddens, 1979, 1986). He felt that those from within objectivist traditions were correct in arguing that ‘society’ and ‘social institutions’ have structural properties that in some sense stretch the activities of individual members of society, but on the other hand failed to capture qualities attributable to human agents, such as ”self-understanding, intentionality, acting for reasons” (Giddens, 1987, p59). At the same time subjectivism, he argued, was good at seeing people as “beings capable of understanding the conditions of our own action, as acting intentionally and having reasons to do so” but less good at examining “long-term processes of change and the large-scale organization of institutions” (Giddens, 1987, p59). This apparent opposition of perspective, he argued, led to a division or ‘dualism’ in social theory that underlies many of the controversies in social science. Instead of a dualism between objectivism and subjectivism, structure and action, Giddens suggested that structure and agency are in fact two sides of the same coin and proposed a ‘duality’ of structure (Giddens, 1979).

In this conception action is seen as having ‘an essential temporality’ and thus institutions and structures are seen as instantiated in the course of everyday action. Rather than conceptualising structure using a visual analogy, as conceived among ‘English-speaking’ social scientists, Giddens’ view of structure was closer to that of that of structuralisms view. However, whereas in the latter structures are seen external to human action and thus limiting to human agency in Giddens’ conceptualisation structure is seen as “both the medium and the outcome of human activities” (1986, p533). In other words, the structural properties of institutions are only instantiated through the ongoing actions of individuals going about their daily lives. Institutions do not have an existence outside of their instantiation in human conduct, but leave ‘memory traces’ in people’s minds that enable them to reconstitute institutions’ structural properties when they re-engage in social action. Institutions

only have structural properties insofar as people continue to carry out particular patterns of action. At the same time people are able to carry out their daily activities only insofar as they are able to instantiate the structural properties of institutions. It is this relationship between individuals and institutions, structure and action, that some have related to early conceptualisations of 'career' – such as that of the Chicago School – and that make it of particular interest in relation to the current field of enquiry (Barley, 1989).

5.1.3 Action, structure and agency: commonalities within approaches

However, despite the obvious commonalities – such as the social construction of knowledge, the intersubjective nature of the world of common sense and daily activity, a rejection of positivist ontology – neither of the two approaches outlined above are without criticisms. For example, structuration theory has been criticised from either side of the ontological debate for its slightly ambiguous position on ontology. Layder (1987) has suggested that Giddens' anti-realist position is problematic because it implies 'structure' (rules and resources) only exist in people's heads, undermining claims of the 'duality' of structure. On the other hand, New (1994) has argued that Giddens' view that structure is 'causally generative' implies that it is 'real'. However, it could be countered that in structuration theory, drawing on Schutz, it is the 'essential temporality' of action seen as a duration that that imbues patterns of actions with their structure (Giddens, 1986). In this way institutions and structures are 'instantiated' in the process of action and are made 'real' in the moment. Structures, thus, gain their objective properties insofar as patterns of action are sustained in social interaction.

Others have criticised Giddens' view of the impact of agency on structure, arguing that individuals' actions have little scope to impact structure, in some circumstances at least (e.g. Layder, 1987). Certainly, Giddens' explicit refutation of objectivism but apparent rejection of subjectivism could be interpreted as slightly evasive (e.g. Giddens, 1986). For it could be argued that if social structures have no external existence, but exist somewhere then it must be in the minds of individuals as an intersubjective reality. Giddens appears to rely on 'memory traces' as the subjective remnants of structures for this. On the other hand, if they are constituted through

action, even for an instant, then they might be considered to have an objective reality external to the minds of people so long as continuous actions endure, which would imply they have some existence external to people's experiences and actions. Either way, this position may seem somewhat problematic.

Similarly, concerns have been raised in relation to social constructionist accounts in relation to ontology, and therefore structure, and in relation to agency. Firstly, in relation to agency some have argued that if knowledge is socially, historically and culturally specific this leaves little space for agency (Young and Collin, 2004; Burr, 2003). If action is informed by knowledge and knowledge is socially, culturally and historically constructed, so the argument goes, then it could be argued that our actions are to a greater or lesser extent a consequence of our biographical, social and cultural environment, which leads to a certain degree of determinism. However, it is not entirely clear where this line of argument originates, as although the view that knowledge is socially, culturally and historically specific can be considered as one of the central tenets of social constructionism, it does not necessarily mean that knowledge is socially, culturally and historically *determined*. Certainly, there is no suggestion that knowledge is socially determined in Berger and Luckman's (1966) initial conception or that knowledge determines action, but rather that socially constructed reality is seen to guide action and provide actors with points of reference to decide what action is appropriate or otherwise in certain circumstances. This is an important point, because if knowledge is only socially, culturally and historically 'specific' or 'situated', and our understandings 'inform', 'guide' or 'imply' particular actions, as it is phrased in some sources (e.g. Cohen et al., 2004; Burr, 2003), the relationship between the social origins of knowledge and its influence on action need not be deterministic and space is left for reflexivity and agency. This latter position would surely seem more reasonable, as in any given situation, although what is socially accepted as possible may be prescribed by prevailing norms and discourses, there are surely a variety of options open to behaviour even if they are bounded by social norms, limited options or by the actions of others.

Another key issue in social constructionism relates to the question of ontology and thus the existence of structures in society. Young and Valach (2004) note that as social constructionism's main interest is often epistemological in nature, that is relates to how knowledge is socially constructed, the question of ontology is often relegated and essentially becomes a moot point for many theorists. This is important for any consideration of structure because if the focus is directed exclusively toward knowledge this makes any investigation of structure within society problematic

because there is no clear conceptualisation of what social structures are other than social constructions held to various degrees amongst social actors. Young and Valach (2004) have proposed an alternative solution to the problem of ontology. In their 'contextual action theory of career' (Valach and Young, 2002; Young and Valach, 2004) they propose that the intentionality of joint goal-directed action provides a link between a social actor's past, present and future, which in turn provides the crucial link between individuals and their social context, between agency and structure. This temporal aspect in the conceptualisation of the link between agency and structure might be considered as broadly similar to the view in structuration theory where structure is proposed to be 'instantiated' in the course of continuous action.

This view of the relationship between structure, or institutions, and social action is not entirely dissimilar to the initial conception of Berger and Luckman (1966). In their view 'institutions' were seen as patterns of actions, rules, sanctions, etc., that are brought about by habitualised actions by types of actors. In this view the social world, including institutions, is brought about via a dialectical process of externalisations, objectification and internalisation between individuals and the social world. Institutionalised structures tend to channel actions towards particular choices of actions, rather than other theoretically possible actions. The more patterns of behaviour are played out, and the more rules and sanctions there become, the more they tend to persist and become institutionalised, and the more it is experienced as objectively real. That is not to say that Berger and Luckman viewed institutions as having an objective reality outside of human activity:

"the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity… despite the objectivity that marks the social world in human experience, does not thereby acquire an ontological status apart from the human activity that produced it."(Berger and Luckman, 1966, p78)

Rather institutions are experienced as if they were objectively real due to the extent of institutionalisation and the privileged position the everyday world has in our consciousness. This point is important because while it recognises the primacy of socially and culturally shared knowledge in the construction of reality it also explains how these social structures nonetheless constrain and enable action and are so enduring.

Apart from a commitment to a relativist epistemology, the first important commonality to note here though is not so much in relation to their view of the ontological nature of

institutions and structures, but rather that: a) that institutions and structures are seen as being produced by a dialectic process of interaction between individual agents and the social world; and b) that structures and institutions are seen to guide rather than determine human action, thus leaving space for human agency. Thus, Berger and Luckman's conceptualisation of individuals and institutions might be considered to have commonalities with structuration theory, and some theories related to career outlined above such as contextual action theory and those of the Chicago School (outlined in Chapter four).

At this point it might be reasonable to ask what is wrong with adopting a critical realist perspective (Bhaskar, 1989). This may be particularly attractive in relation to understanding questions of the structural aspects of institutions and social practices. In this view the objects of social construction and action are seen as having an ontological existence independent of human knowledge (but not human interaction), and thus easily explains how social structures may shape our social world. However, given its reliance on a realist ontology this perspective is open to similar criticisms to that of positivism and post-positivism. That is, of imbuing social structures and institutions with an ontological reality outside of social interaction and socially mediated knowledge does not give language and social and cultural knowledge the primacy it deserves. Although socially instituted patterns of action can be considered as having structural properties – in the sense that they have to some extent a level of permanency that an individual can do little to change and because they simultaneously enable and constrain our actions – their existence is entirely contingent on the sharedness of a collective cultural and historical project, and on the continuation of the social action and interaction that produce and reproduce the structures in the first place. Although a given social structure such as social class, guides, constrains and structures patterns of everyday activity, it only has structural properties (and existence) insofar as those patterns of activity and shared understandings are sustained. If people stop thinking, communicating, or acting in ways that are structured by them, the structures would cease to exist (in a strict ontological sense), or at the very least would cease to have the same meaning for future generations. Of course the chances of this happening are next to non-existent, due to the deep level of sharedness of our social reality. However, despite arguing that social structures do not have an ontological existence in the strict philosophical sense, this is not to say that they are not experienced as real or that they have any less impact on our daily lives.

This view is present in Berger and Luckman's (1966) initial conception of social constructionism. Social institutions are perceived to be 'real' because they were designated as such-and-such long before our arrival on the scene and because they are brought about through the habitualised actions of people's interactions. The relevance of this for this thesis is that, although it is argued that social practices and structures such as internships and social class are a seen as being socially constructed and mediated, and therefore as not having an ontological existence in the strict philosophical sense, they are by no means any less 'real' in terms of the way they constrain and guide human action and therefore can be seen as having structural properties.

The second commonality of note between all of the approaches outlined in this section does relate to ontology. Although the question of ontology arguably is yet to be solved in any of these frameworks, in all of them, institutions and structures are seen to either be instantiated in the conduct of everyday patterns of action, or are otherwise thought to take on the appearance of being objectively real through the urgency of the everyday world. Both views draw on the notion of the temporality of existence. Thus, in all of these frameworks the social world is either made 'real' through action, if but for a moment, or is otherwise experienced as real. It is not the aim of this thesis to answer the question as to which of these two ontological positions is most valid. However, the key point is that in either view the social world is felt to have an objectiveness. The third commonality relates to the intersubjectivity of the common-sense world. In all of the above approaches the intersubjective, socially negotiated and shared nature of knowledge is seen as simultaneously enabling and constraining social interaction but in a non-deterministic way.

It is these commonalities that are important in the consideration of graduates, internships and how they fit in with careers and the broader labour market. Individual motivations for taking part internships can be seen in the context of the journey that graduates make from their past to their future career, from HE to their intended goal. These may vary from person to person but the discourse in the literature is that one of the defining features of internships is that they are carried out as part of a planned career. That is, they can be seen as an action or project with an intended outcome. In addition, different forms of employment and pathways into work, including internships, can be seen as patterns of action with more or less institutionalised aspects. In the case of internships it might be considered that the practice is less institutionalised than other practices or forms of employment, particularly as there is no formal definition or regulations that guide the practice.

In addition, the above commonalities also have implications for methodology, because although it is important to understand how the internships might have different meanings for people and this may in turn have different implications for action, it is also reasonable to ask questions about the structural aspects of the practice such as: how many people do internships? How do interns fare afterwards relative to non-interns? Are some groups are less able to complete internships? What implications do they have for patterns of labour market advantage and disadvantage?

Furthermore, because institutions and social practices can be thought to have structural properties, this opens the door to the use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies as valid lines of enquiry. Thus, in this study the common-sense world of everyday activity is assumed to be socially constructed and intersubjective, and because of the intersubjective nature is to a greater or lesser degree shared and experienced as objective. Even if social structures do not have an objective reality outside of the everyday interactions that constitute them, they are deeply rooted and shared, can be considered as having broadly similar meanings for social actors, are perceived as real and, as a consequence, have no less impact on our actions. In respect to the study of internships and their role in the graduate labour market, internships – and related constructs such as the higher education, social class, the graduate labour market, and careers – are seen as socially constructed and negotiated practices and constructs that enable and constrain action, and which to a greater or lesser degree are imbued with structure as a consequence of ongoing patterns of social action and interaction.

5.1.4 Internships, careers and the graduate labour market

When applied to internships it could be argued that while people may have different views of internships from different perspectives and in different contexts, the intersubjective nature of socially constructed knowledge means they can be understood in relation to a given context or perspective by drawing upon a common sense ‘stock of knowledge at hand’. In the context of this study internships are understood in the context of attempts to construct a career and navigate transitions into employment from the perspective of graduates interested with achieving certain goals or ends (e.g. working in a particular sector or profession, or even just trying out

an industry). Their views will tend to reflect common discourse in relation to careers, the changing graduate labour market and employability. Thus, the current research draws upon the same discourse as reflected from within the academic and policy literature on internships in order to examine the validity of some of the key claims within this discourse. Firstly, that graduates perceive certain developmental benefits of internships. Secondly, that internships help graduates to achieve certain career goals and to get particular types of jobs. And finally, that access to internships is uneven with individuals from some socio-economic groups less able to access opportunities than others. It is recognised that there is a danger that this imposes some aspects of discourse that may not be shared by all relevant actors. However, given the emergent nature of the practice, combined with the contested and contradictory nature of internships, it can be argued that examination of the extent to which the above aspects are borne out in practice is warranted.

To illustrate of these points, while Coupland (2004) highlighted how graduate trainees drew on conceptions of career as a plan to highlight the contestable nature of career, an alternative interpretation can be offered. The fact that some participants also talked about career as a journey, it could be argued, shows how individuals are able to draw upon different discourse in order to fit their own experiences. By denying a particular understanding of ‘career’ an individual is showing that they recognise alternative possible understandings, which, it could be argued, emphasises the shared and intersubjective nature of discourse. This view would appear to be supported by Tholen’s (2012) study, in which he showed how Dutch and British graduates socially construct the competition for graduate jobs by drawing upon an ‘intersubjective’ “common stock of knowledge about the world” (p279) in order to make sense of their employability. In this conception structural features of the labour market were not seen as external to the individual but part of “an intersubjective framework in which their views are, or become, meaningful” (p279).

Given the nature of the gaps in the literature outlined in chapter two, and the nature of the claims in the discourse outlined above, the research takes a necessarily quantitative approach in order to examine the extent to which the claims in the discourse on internships live up to experience of interns as lived out through their careers. While it is recognised that some of the constructs involved are evolving and contested to a degree, the intersubjective nature of social reality opens up both quantitative and qualitative methodologies as valid and complementary lines of enquiry. As noted in chapter two, qualitative studies of internships have provided some insights about the practice of internships, but it is in examining the extent to

which different aspects of internships are borne in practice that the gaps in the research lie.

In the case of internships, although it is recognised that there may be different views as to what the practice is and what the purposes and implications are, it can be argued that there is to a greater or lesser extent a shared understanding of what internships are and shared discourses that surround the field within which the practice is located. In addition, it can be argued that by examining what is an emerging practice it allows us to view how individuals interact with institutional structures simultaneously influenced by and influencing them (Barley, 1989). Establishing the extent to which the practice of internships reflects the discourse on internships and the wider labour market, also tells us something about the wider institutional context and about how discourses relate. For example, are labour markets meritocratic or positional? Are transitions becoming individualised and extended? Is precarity proliferating?

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Overview of methods used

As mentioned in the previous section the main gaps in the research on internships are largely quantitative in nature. Although there have been some insightful qualitative investigations into internships, there has been little in the way of generalisable quantitative research from the perspective of individuals, particularly in relation to the prevalence and features of internships, patterns of participation and purported outcomes. Therefore, a predominantly quantitative approach was adopted for the study with the general aim being to establish the extent of the practice, particularly in areas where internships are thought to be increasingly commonplace, and to investigate the extent to which dominant discourses on internships are played out in practice. However, qualitative interviews were also employed in order to inform and aid survey design and questionnaire development, and to ensure validity of research instruments. This approach might be termed ‘development’, ‘instrument development’ (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989; Bryman, 2006) or more

precisely as a qual>QUAN ‘Exploratory sequential design’ (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). In particular, the research sought to address the following research aims:

1) To what extent is the practice of internships a feature of the graduate labour market, what forms do they take and what are the perceived benefits?

2) Are there issues around access to and participation in internships and do these have implications for fairness and social mobility?

3) What are the outcomes of engaging in graduate internships for individuals and do they improve interns’ positions in the UK graduate labour market?

Although quantitative research methods are often associated with research from a positivist or objectivist research position (Bryman, 2016), the approach adopted in this research takes a different position in terms of the underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions. In the current study, although some of the key objects of investigation – such as internships, careers, employability and the graduate labour market – are seen as being socially negotiated and constructed, at the same time the intersubjective nature of the socially constructed world, along with the extent to which social practices can be seen as being institutionalised through the enactment of everyday action, opens them up to investigation using quantitative research methods. That is not to say that this assumes that these constructs have an objective existence outside of human consciousness or that they have the same meanings for everyone, but rather that individuals as users of discourse are able to recognise and reflect upon such terms within a given context, and that the resources used to understand and give meaning to the world are to a large extent shared. As such, it is valid to use quantitative research to examine the extent to which people engage in, or hold particular beliefs and orientations toward, a given object or practice.

Bryman (2016) also notes that adoption of a quantitative research methodology need not necessarily imply a commitment to any particular epistemology or ontology. For example, he highlights examples of qualitative research that displays objectivist tendencies as well as examples of quantitative research from within an interpretivist and/or social constructionist standpoint. He suggests that qualitative research does not hold a monopoly on the study of meaning, arguing that quantitative research often addresses questions of meaning as well as behaviour. Similarly, he notes that qualitative research often attempts to interpret behaviour as well as meaning and thus argues that the common meaning/behaviour dichotomy that is often assumed

between quantitative and qualitative research exaggerates differences between the two research methodologies.

The quantitative methods used in the research included both primary and secondary research methods:

1) Secondary analysis of data from the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey, a statutory survey of graduates from UK HEIs;

2) A primary survey of graduates from undergraduate courses in two subject areas where internships were found to be particularly commonplace from the secondary analysis and that have been highlighted as areas of particular concern in much of the literature and public discourse on internships.

The secondary analysis allowed the investigation of the extent, features, participation, access routes and motivations towards internships of graduates from all subject areas at an important stage of their early careers. The DLHE provides reliable, generalisable data on the employment situation of graduates six months after graduation. However, while one of the benefits of using secondary data from a national survey can be that reliable and generalisable data can be obtained at relatively low cost and effort, one of the drawbacks is that the researcher has little control over the content of the questionnaire and the questions asked (Bryman, 2016; Vartanian, 2011). In the case of the DLHE survey, whilst it provides details on graduates' 'main' current work activity including job details, reasons for taking the job and how they found out about it, it only asks for details of their 'main' job but not any additional or secondary jobs. In addition, it is only a snapshot of the situation very early on in their careers (i.e. six months). Thus, it is likely to underestimate the extent of internships carried out after this time or undertaken as a second job, and it cannot tell us anything about the potential benefits of internships such as employment outcomes or developmental benefits, as the survey is conducted before any potential benefits can be measured.

Thus, in order to get a more detailed exploration of graduates' early career experiences and in order to be able to explore potential benefits and outcomes of internships a primary survey was carried out focussing on graduates from creative and mass communications subjects two to six years after graduation. Whilst commissioning a bespoke survey of graduates a few years further on in their careers on the same scale of the DLHE would beyond the capacity of a PhD research study, a smaller more focused survey following a similar approach to that used in the

Creative Graduates, Creative Futures project (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt, Ball and Pollard, 2010) – which the author helped to design, administer and analyse – offered the opportunity to obtain detailed quantitative data on the early career experiences of creative and mass communications graduates. In particular, the survey was able to capture details of up to three current jobs, something that is of particular importance for creative graduates (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010), and allowed the comparison of employment-related outcomes between those with and without internship experience whilst controlling for other factors such as grades, other credentials and background characteristics.

5.2.2 Secondary analysis

Scoping of secondary datasets

An initial scoping stage was carried out to identify whether any national statutory datasets were available that could help answer the research questions. One survey that is commonly used to examine the work situation of individuals is the Labour Force Survey (LFS). However, while the LFS captures respondents' current work situation, as well as educational experience and personal background, it is not possible to separate out interns from other types of paid and unpaid workers, or to identify those with previous internship experience. As there is no separate employment category for internships, paid interns are likely to be reported with other types of paid employees and unpaid interns are likely to be reported alongside unpaid family workers, volunteers and those on other types of work experience. Also, as there is no separate category for interns in the Standard Occupational Categorisation (SOC) system used in the LFS (and other surveys) it is not possible to identify interns from this variable, unless one has access to the open text data and they happen to have stated that their job was an internship in their job title/description. In any case, to identify and code such individuals in the LFS where there are in excess of 95,000 respondents would be a substantial undertaking. Finally, as the LFS does not capture previous internship experience it is not possible to examine employment outcomes of those with and without internship experience.

A number of other publicly available datasets were explored for suitability for the current research, but again were not appropriate to the research objectives. As with the LFS, the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS or 'Understanding Society')

and the Workplace Employment Relations Survey (WERS) do not capture internships as a separate employment category and/or capture previous internship experience. And while the Employer Perspectives Survey (UCKEPS) does ask some questions about internships, it only asks about internships from an employer's point of view and does not allow investigation of internships from the perspective of individuals. Ultimately, the DLHE was found to be the only survey that asks about internships from the perspective of individuals, and while the LDLHE has the potential to allow for the investigation of outcomes, question changes allowing for the investigation of internships will not be available in the LDHLE until the 2012/13 cohort data is available (some time in 2017), and even then the survey does not capture participation in internships in the intervening period between the six month and three and a half year surveys. Thus, the DLHE was selected for the current research as it allowed the investigation of the extent and nature of internships, how they were accessed and motivations towards internships, and patterns of participation in graduate internships.

The Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey

The DLHE is a statutory survey of recent graduates carried out annually by higher education institutions on behalf of the Higher Education Statistics Authority (HESA). It is a census of graduates carried out in their first year after finishing university which captures information about their employment situation at six months after graduation. The survey for the 2011/12 cohort was the first DLHE survey to capture internships as a separate employment category. Prior to this, interns and voluntary workers could not be distinguished from workers on other types of contracts, and would most likely be mixed up with temps and employees on temporary or 'other' contracts. As such the 2011/12 DLHE offered a unique opportunity to explore the employment situation of interns at a crucial time in their careers. The survey, which covers home and EU graduates from HE level qualifications (undergraduate and postgraduate), achieves a high response rate each year and provides a representative and generalisable snapshot of the employment situation of graduates at six months after finishing their course. The 2011/12 survey achieved a response rate of 77.4 per cent and was broadly representative of the 2011/12 graduating cohort, although response rates were higher among UK domiciled leavers and leavers from full-time courses than they were for leavers from elsewhere in the EU or from part-time courses.

The survey asks a total of up to 31 questions on current activity (work, study or other activities), number of current jobs and details of 'main' job, details of any current further study, and general feedback on respondents' HE course. For graduates reporting a current work activity the survey asks respondents to give a range of details about their 'main' job. The definition of 'main' job is left up to respondents to decide, but the question wording suggests that it should be either the one they spend most time on, earn most from, or is related to their future plans[1]. For respondents' main job the survey asks for details about the job, such as: job title and duties; contract type or employment basis; pay; hours; industry/sector of employer; and location of employer. The survey also asks graduates how they found out about the job, their reasons for taking the job, and whether their qualifications were needed to get the job. In addition, graduates' responses to the survey can be linked to their student record, thus allowing for exploration of employment experiences by graduates' personal and study characteristics. For the current research, all of this allows for a detailed investigation of common features of internships, patterns of participation, access routes to and motivations towards internships. Having introduced the DLHE and provided a rationale for its use as source of data on internships, the remainder of this section outlines some of the key data decisions and considerations necessary for the analysis and highlights the limitations of the data.

Measuring internships using the DLHE

The first task in exploring the extent of and participation in internships was to identify the most appropriate way of defining and capturing what might be thought of as internships based on common discourse within the literature. Initial consultations with HE stakeholders along with experience from previous research (e.g. Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010) suggested that what might be considered as internships are not always called 'internships' in terms of job titles and descriptions, and therefore in people's self-reports in a survey. In some cases work experiences that might otherwise be considered as internships may sometimes be advertised as 'voluntary' jobs, despite not being in the voluntary sector or comprising the sort of work people might choose to carry out for altruistic reasons. Upon initial inspection of the data this

[1] The precise wording of the guidance is: "For the following questions, please provide details of what you consider to be your MAIN job. Your main job might be the one that you spend the most time doing, the one which pays you the most money or is related to your future plans." (HESA *Destination of Leavers Survey 2011/12*, p2).

did appear to be the case. When looking at the occupations and industries – using SOC and Standard Industry Classification (SIC) codes – of graduates reporting their main job as ‘voluntary work’ it was clear that many (25 per cent of those describing their job as ‘voluntary work’) were not working in industries or occupations that might normally be considered as being ‘voluntary’, or that people might choose to do for altruistic or charitable reasons. Instead they were working in occupations and industries that might be more commonly associated with areas where internships are thought to be increasingly common. Common examples included: graphic designers, journalists, management consultants, and public relations professionals. Therefore, in order to get a more accurate picture of the extent of engagement in internships among graduates interns were defined as those reporting their basis of employment as ‘on an internship’ plus a number of respondents who described their main job as ‘voluntary work’ but were not working in industries/sectors related to the third and public sectors, education, health and care, and libraries and cultural organisations. They were also not working in occupations related to healthcare, teaching, welfare, caring occupations, local government, and protective services. A more detailed description of the treatment of the data can be found in chapter six, and a full list of occupations and industries reported in the data that were excluded from being defined as ‘internships’ can be found in Appendix A. However, a brief list of examples of occupations and industries coded as ‘volunteers in public or voluntary occupations/industries’, along with examples of occupations and industries coded as interns, can be found in Table 5.1. Graduates who said they were doing ‘voluntary work’ who were working in the retail industry were coded as ‘volunteers in public or voluntary occupations/industries’. This latter group were kept as ‘voluntary’ due to the difficulty of distinguishing interns working in retail from the large numbers of people who work in charity shops. Retail interns self-defining as interns, however, remained coded as interns along with all other self-defined interns.

Table 5.1: Examples of occupations and industries included/excluded in the definition of internships

Industries/sectors coded as voluntary (at the 2-digit SIC level)	**Occupations coded as voluntary (at the 4-digit SOC level)**
(47) Retail trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles	(2231) Nurses
(84) Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	(2232) Midwives
(85) Education	(2319) Teaching and other educational professionals n.e.c. (not elsewhere classified)
(86) Human health activities	(2449) Welfare professionals n.e.c.
(87) Residential care activities	(3319) Protective service associate professionals n.e.c.
(88) Social work activities without accommodation	(4113) Local government administrative occupations
(91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities	(6147) Care escorts
Examples of industries where 'wider' interns were working (at the 2-digit SIC level)	**Examples of occupations where 'wider' interns were working (at the 4-digit SOC level)**
(58) Publishing activities	(2137) Web design and development professionals
(59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities	(2423) Management consultants and business analysts
(64) Financial service activities, except insurance and pension funding	(2471) Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors
(69) Legal and accounting activities	(2472) Public relations professionals
(70) Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities	(3121) Architectural and town planning technicians
(71) Architectural and engineering activities; technical testing and analysis	(3413) Actors, entertainers and presenters
(73) Advertising and market research	(3417) Photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operators
(74) Other professional, scientific and technical activities	(3421) Graphic, exhibition, multimedia designers, commercial artists, desktop publishing assistants and operators
(90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities	(3422) Designers (clothing, textiles, jewellery, furniture, interior, set, industrial, and product)
	(3442) Sports coaches, instructors and officials
	(3520) Legal associate professionals
	(3543) Marketing associate professionals

Notes: * these are just examples of occupations and industries reported by respondents that were excluded or included from the definition of interns. See chapter six for a more detailed explanation.

Limitations of DLHE data

As mentioned above, although the DLHE can provide reliable and generalisable data on graduate internships at an important point in graduates' careers, as with all secondary analysis, it is important to note some of the limitations of the data. In general there are four main limitations with the data that relate to the measurement of internships and the timing of the survey, all of which probably tend to underestimate the extent of internships and the latter of which has implications for what the data can tell us about the potential benefits of internships. The first measurement limitation is that because the DLHE only asks for details of respondents' 'main' activity this is likely to underestimate the number of graduates who are participating in internships in at least one of their jobs. The analysis showed that five per cent of graduates with some work had more than one job, and as some graduates may have one job to make ends meet whilst working in an internship in their spare time (e.g. Frenette, 2013; McLeod et al., 2011), and so there is likely to be some who report the details of the former of these as their main job.

A second, related, measurement limitation is due to the way 'main' job is left open to respondents' own interpretation. As mentioned above, the guidance asks respondents to provide details on the job that they spend most time on, earn most from, or is related to their future plans. Thus, in practice it is hard to know how respondents choose to interpret 'main' job. For the majority of respondents in work who only have the one job, this does not present an issue, and for some others these three conditions may well align. However, from the point of view of internships, many of which may either be low/unpaid or part-time, this may add to the uncertainty and a degree of underestimation in terms of the number of graduates engaging in internships, as these sorts of experiences may not end up being reported as a 'main' job.

The third measurement limitation relates to the difficulty of defining internships from graduates' self-reported employment basis. Obviously, the fact that the DLHE now has separate categories for internships and voluntary work is a vast improvement on previous surveys and allows analyses that were previously not possible. However, as shown above, the wording of the voluntary category as simply 'voluntary work', along with the lack of any formal or legal definitions of internships more widely, appears to have led to a number of graduates who might more normally be considered as interns reporting their employment basis as voluntary work rather than as an internship. If the intention of the survey is to capture voluntary workers in charities or

public and community organisations it might be beneficial to include this in the category wording. In the analysis presented in this thesis an attempt to minimise the effects of this issue has been outlined above. However, there are likely to be some graduates who might ordinarily be considered as interns who remain categorised as volunteers.

Finally, the final limitation of the DLHE for the purposes of the current study relates to the timing of the survey. Although the survey provides a useful snapshot of the situation of graduates at six months after finishing their course the fact that it is relatively soon after finishing means that this is likely to underestimate the level of participation in graduate internships, as many may engage in internships after this time. For example, in the GTP only around one-quarter to one-third of internships on the scheme are carried out in the first six months after leaving (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Also, as the survey is so soon after graduation it does not allow analysis of outcomes and the potential benefits of internships. As such, a more detailed survey carried out at a later point after graduation was necessary in order to fill these gaps in the data and to help answer the research questions left unanswered by the secondary analysis.

5.2.3 **Creative Graduates' Careers Survey**

As mentioned above, while the 2011/12 DLHE offered a unique opportunity to explore participation in, motivations towards and access to graduate internships, it only provides a snapshot of the situation very early on in graduates' careers. In order to get a more detailed picture of the situation a bit further down the line and, crucially, in order to get an idea of the potential benefits of graduate internships, perceived and in practice, it was necessary to carry out a more focused bespoke graduate survey. The survey aimed to contribute to the research questions in chapter one by investigating:

1) How many graduates do internships in areas where internships are thought to be increasingly common, what forms do they take and what are the perceived benefits?

2) What are the patterns of participation in graduate internships and are some groups more able to do them than others?

3) What impact do internships have on graduates' labour market positions?

It was decided to focus the survey on graduates from two subject areas where internships, and unpaid internships in particular, were found to be particularly common in the secondary analysis: creative arts and design (CAD), and mass communications and documentation (MCD). While these two areas were not the only areas where internships were found to be common in the secondary analysis, these areas were both identified in the literature as fields where internships are increasingly seen as a necessary route towards careers and where there has been particular concern about fairness of access, the purported benefits and potential exploitation of aspirants (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). These were also two subject areas where the author had previous experience of conducting a similar survey and where it was felt that HEIs might be receptive to an approach to participate in the research.

The survey design and coverage was loosely based on the approach employed in the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* (CGCF) project (Ball et al., 2010). The survey was targeted at graduates two, four and six years after graduation (i.e. the 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12 graduating cohorts). The reasons for focussing on these particular cohorts were threefold. Firstly, the time elapsed since graduation allowed for graduates' careers to have moved on to some degree, whilst at the same time not being too long after graduation for the contact information held by HEIs to have deteriorated too much. Secondly, having the three cohorts allowed for the examination of the experiences of graduates over time. It was possible to compare the cohorts to see if the careers of those with internship experience accelerated faster than those without. And finally, these three specific cohorts were chosen so as to minimise overlap with the LDLHE survey carried out by HESA bi-annually on the alternate cohorts. This was important as carrying out a competing graduate survey would have had a negative impact on response rates and, crucially, would have meant that HEIs might have been less inclined to participate in the survey.

Survey mode

The survey took the form of a web survey carried out using a proprietary online survey tool. Respondents were invited to take part in the survey via emails, sent by their graduating HEI, containing a link that directed them to the survey website. Whilst the disadvantages of online surveys can be low response rate, restricted population and risk of multiple responses from the same individuals, the advantages

can be low cost, faster response, fewer unanswered questions and better data accuracy (Bryman, 2016). Another potential weakness of online surveys can be lower levels of engagement with the survey questions, with respondents potentially answering questions in a superficial manner without much thought (e.g. Heerwegh and Looseveldt, 2008). In addition, as with other forms of self-completion questionnaires, it can be hard to know who has actually answered the questions (Bryman, 2016). On the other hand, in some cases (for example where the survey includes socially sensitive questions) web surveys have been shown to actually reduce social desirability bias and increase accuracy (e.g. Kreuter, Presser and Tourangeau, 2008). However, while there can be advantages to web and online surveys it is worth noting the potential weaknesses here.

In the current study an online survey mode was considered useful for the following reasons: a) the target population (CAD and MCD graduates) were geographically spread out making face-to-face survey techniques infeasible; b) from initial scoping interviews with survey contacts at participating HEIs it was clear that as graduates tend to be fairly mobile within the first few years after graduation email details were likely to be the most reliable contact information for graduates (compared to telephone numbers or physical addresses); c) an online mode is less expensive and quicker to administer than postal or telephone methods, potentially allowing for a greater number of follow up reminders; and d) recent dual mode surveys targeted at similar populations have shown that respondents increasingly prefer to complete surveys online at a time of their choosing rather than over the phone or having to return forms via the post (e.g. Pollard et al., 2013; Ball et al., 2010). Having noted the benefits of employing an online survey mode it was recognised that some respondents do still prefer to provide their answers over the phone and so a number was provided so that respondents could request a call back to complete the survey over the phone. However, in the event only a small number of respondents chose to complete the survey over the phone (three respondents, equating to 0.5 per cent of the sample).

Sampling and recruitment

The survey employed a systematic probability sampling method as a means of obtaining data that would be generalisable to the target population of the survey. A sample survey was chosen over a census because, firstly, it was felt that participating HEIs would prefer not to contact all eligible graduates if there was no real need to do so and, secondly, so that no more graduates would be asked to give

up their time than was necessary for the purposes of the research. A probability sampling method was chosen so that respondents would have a known chance of being selected for the survey. This helps minimise sampling bias, and provide a sample that is generalisable to the target population (De Vaus, 2014). A systematic probability sampling approach was adopted, as it was relatively simple and easy to administer for HEI sampling contacts.

Due to data protection legislation, and for obvious ethical reasons, there is no centrally held, publicly available list of graduates' contact details that could be used for sampling purposes. Even databases held by government departments and agencies, such as HESA, can only be used by those organisations or their agents for the research purposes stated in the Fair Processing Notices presented to students during registration. As such, it was necessary to adopt a sampling approach that meant that personal and contact information held by HEIs would not have to be processed by or passed on to any third party outside of the institution holding the data. Therefore, the approach used was to recruit a number of HEIs to the research who could then select and contact eligible graduates in order to invite them to take part in the survey. This was an approach that was successfully employed in the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* survey (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010). This approach had the combined benefits of: a) overcoming any potential data protection and ethical problems related to the sharing of personal and contact information; b) helped encourage response as respondents were invited to take part by a trusted and familiar organisation; and c) helped allay potential concerns of HEIs that were interested in participating in the research.

HEIs were recruited to take part in the research through an initial call for interest circulated by the Council for Higher Education in Art and Design (CHEAD). CHEAD is a membership organisation of HEIs with significant provision in creative arts, design and mass communications related subjects. Initial contacts were made through CHEAD because of its and its members previous role in the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* project and because it was felt that the organisation, and its members as gatekeepers, would be interested in internships and the careers of creative and mass communications graduates and therefore open to approaches to participate in the research. In order to encourage participation in the research HEIs were offered a set of anonymised headline tables based on respondents from their own institution benchmarked against respondents from all participating institutions (as was provided to participating institutions in the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* project). An initial call for interest for participation in the research was issued

by CHEAD in June 2014 and by the end of July 12 HEIs with a broad geographical spread around the UK had been recruited to take part in the survey. Prior to this a number of scoping interviews had been conducted with sampling contacts and other stakeholders at five HEIs. This included contacts from faculties and subject groups, careers and alumni departments, registry, and legal and data protection officers. The purpose of these scoping interviews was to establish the simplest and most efficient approach to sampling in terms of time and effort of HEI staff, and to establish which groups of staff in each organisation might be best placed to carry out the sampling and contacting tasks involved in the survey. A copy of the initial call for interest in the research sent to interested HEIs can be seen in Appendix B. Following receipt of expressions of interest further discussions were carried out with staff at each institution to establish precisely which individuals at each HEI would carry out the sampling tasks involved.

Once all interested institutions had been recruited to the research, the sampling and contacting tasks were carried out by the person who had been identified as the most appropriate contact. In many cases this was the same person responsible for administering other, similar surveys at the institution (such as the DLHE), and was normally someone in either the careers department, faculty office, registry, or alumni relations. In some cases the sampling and contacting tasks were split between people in more than one of these departments (e.g. sample extracted by someone in registry and then an email mail merge carried out by someone in the careers department). Institution sampling contacts were sent a standardised set of sampling instructions (Appendix C) along with a ‘random sampling tool’ in Excel that used a systematic sampling algorithm with a random starting point. Using the random sampling tool, or their own random sampling tool if they had them, HEIs were asked to randomly select a set proportion of eligible graduates, based on five eligibility criteria: domicile, level of qualification obtained, mode of study, cohort and subject area. The sample population for the survey was UK and EU graduates from first degree courses in creative arts and design, and mass communications and documentation subjects from the 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12 graduating cohorts, including graduates from both full-time and part-time courses. Those eligible/ineligible for the survey can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Sampling eligibility criteria (CGCS)

Criteria	Included	Excluded
Domicile	UK domicile; Channel islands and the Isle of Man; Other EU domicile;	All other domiciles;
Level of qualification	First degree;	All other qualifications;
Mode of study	Full-time or Part-time;	-
Graduating cohort	2007/08; 2009/10; 2011/12;	All other cohorts;
Subject area of study	Creative Arts and Design; Mass Communications and Documentation; (JACS subject areas P and W)	All other subject areas;

Graduates were sampled using an equal sampling fraction, partly for simplicity, but primarily because this negated the need for any complicated weighting in order to adjust for variability in chances of being selected for different groups or institutions. The sampling fraction chosen (two-thirds of eligible graduates) was selected based on two considerations. Firstly, based on HESA data covering participating institutions taken from the HESA '*Students in Higher Education*' series of published statistics. This sampling fraction was estimated to provide a starting sample of around 12,000, which, assuming an estimated participation rate in internships of at least 10 per cent[1] and an estimated response rate of 15 per cent (CGCF achieved a response rate of 14 per cent), would provide an estimated achieved sample of 1,800 graduates, including 180 with internship experience. This was calculated to achieve a MOE of at least +/- two per cent for graduates and +/- seven per cent for interns at the 95 per cent confidence level based on a 50/50 split on a given categorical variable, based on the sample size calculation formula provided in Krejcie and Morgan (1970). This was felt to provide a reasonable level of estimate confidence for the survey. Secondly, the sample fraction was chosen in order to achieve a minimum of at least 31 respondents from the smallest of participating HEIs based on the estimated response rate mentioned above. This would allow for the provision of headline tables for institutions based on their own respondents that could ensure an adequate level of anonymity for respondents. This threshold is the same as was employed in the

[1] A conservative estimate based on the fact that at least one-in-twenty were doing an internship at six months after leaving university in the DLHE analysis and up to 42 per cent of creative and media graduates were found to have had experience of unpaid work in the four to six years after leaving university in the CGCF project (Ball et al., 2010).

CGCF project and in the Student Income and Expenditure Survey (Ball et al., 2010; Pollard et al., 2013).

Questionnaire development

In order to ensure that the survey questionnaire was appropriate for the survey aims there were four separate stages of the questionnaire development phase. First, qualitative interviews were carried out with a number of respondents who had either completed internships, provided internships or were involved with running internship schemes. A total of six respondents were interviewed: four face-to-face and two by phone. An overview of their background and their experience in relation to internships can be seen in Table 5.3. The aim of the qualitative interviews was to get a better understanding of the range of experiences of interns, including how internships are defined, what the features of internships are and what the expected benefits are. The interviews were semi-structured and covered the following six broad areas: respondent's background and relationship to internships; how they define internships; features of internships and job roles; how they accessed internships; motivations for engaging in internships; and attitudes and reflections on internships (including perceived benefits and reflections on their labour market positions). The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour and 15 minutes. A copy of the discussion guide can be seen in Appendix D. The findings from the interviews helped guide the development of the questionnaire by helping to refine question wordings in order to capture internship experience amongst respondents, and by helping guide the development of questionnaire items aimed at investigating the potential benefits of internships.

Table 5.3: Qualitative development interview respondents

Interviewee number	Background and role in relation to internships
1	Media and communications graduate. Had worked in five separate communications and PR related internships. Was working in PR at the time of the survey.
2	Performing arts graduate. Had worked in two separate internships: one for a small film production company, and one for an organisation that supports development in the arts.
3	Textiles and fashion graduate. Had worked for a small organisation in the garment industry. Working as a teacher at the time of interview.
4	Fine art graduate. Had worked in several internships for art galleries. Was working for a gallery while also doing her own creative work.
5	A co-director in a medium sized games development company. The company regularly recruit paid interns. Has links with and had previously worked with both large and small organisations in the games industry that use interns to varying degrees.
6	A careers and employability professional working in the HE sector who had responsibility for running the institution's graduate internship scheme.

The second stage of the development phase was the design and programming phase of the questionnaire. Parts of the questionnaire, particularly sections aimed at capturing previous and current work activities, were loosely based on the questionnaire used in the CGCF project. The reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, these sections of the questionnaire were found to have worked well in the CGCF project and were particularly successful in capturing the often diverse and complex careers of creative and communications related graduates (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010). And secondly, initial discussions with contacts at participating HEIs indicated that following a similar approach to that used in the CGCF would provide useful information for them in terms of careers and employability planning and guidance, and so was helpful in encouraging engagement from participating institutions. However, whereas the CGCF survey involved a six-page postal survey that included a lot of questions on details of respondents' university course and further education and often took a long time to complete, the CGCS survey was reduced down to capture only the most important information necessary to the aims of the current study and included new sections that better reflected these aims. Overall, the survey comprised six sections covering the following:

1) Course background – including course and HEI they graduated from, grades and any experience of work placements while studying;

2) Current and previous labour market activity since leaving university – including different types of activities graduates have engaged in since finishing their course, any experience of internships and experience of teaching or work related to their degree;

3) Details of current work activities – for up to three work-related activities, including job title/occupation, industry, hours, size of organisation, and views on job;

4) Views on skills and career development – ratings on different types of employment (including internships) for developing different aspects of employability and careers;

5) Views and attitudes towards their current work situation and careers;

6) Personal and background characteristics and earnings.

The full text of the final questionnaire can be found in Appendix E. The survey questionnaire was programmed using an online survey tool. A number of different survey tools were considered for the survey. However, the chosen survey tool was felt to be the most appropriate option for a number of reasons, including: ease of use; cross platform functionality; flexibility of available question formats; possibility of routing and 'piping' (incorporating question answers in the wording of following questions); and user experience and appearance. In particular these last two aspects, and the conversational style with which the survey tool works, were felt to be of particular importance in engaging respondents and maximising completion rates, particularly given that the target population were likely to be cognisant of these aspects of the survey. The tool also allowed for the use of logos and colour themes. This enabled the survey to use the same branding that had been developed for all of the email invites and survey communications, which in turn was aimed at generating responses by making the survey appear as professional as possible. At the same time as developing the online questionnaire the email invites and reminders were drafted and an online information page was set up. These can be seen in Appendix F and Appendix G and are discussed in the ethics section below.

Once the questionnaire had been programmed into the online survey tool, the third stage of the questionnaire development involved a semantic pilot. Semantic pilot interviews were carried out with twelve respondents, some of which completed two or more drafts of the survey. Of the respondents: eight were graduates from CAD or MCD related subjects; eight either worked or had worked in creative or

communications related roles; five had worked in internships (three had experience of more than one internship); and four were working for organisations linked to graduate careers and/or careers in the creative industries. The aim of the semantic pilot interviews was to check that respondents understood the question wordings in the way that they were intended, to check all the programming and routing worked as intended, to see if the survey coverage was relevant to respondents and appropriate to the objectives of the survey, and to test how long the survey took to complete. Respondents were asked first to run through the online survey as if they were completing it for real, but 'thinking aloud' as they went through. Then, they were then asked to go through the survey a second time with the researcher asking questions about how they felt about and interpreted the questions. A number of issues with question wording and programming/routing were identified and rectified at this stage of the development. However, overall the line of questioning and question response categories were felt to be clear, intuitive and relevant, and the survey tool was felt to be engaging. A number of innovations such as the use of star and 'thumbs up' icons for some of the ratings questions were also felt to add interest to the survey and were understood by respondents in the way that they were intended.

Finally, a live pilot was carried out with the help an HEI that had initially expressed an interest in taking part in the research, but was unable to take part fully in the survey due to timing and staffing constraints. A total of 100 respondents were randomly selected by the pilot institution and were contacted by email using the standard email invites. Pilot respondents were initially emailed in August 2014 and one reminder was sent one week later. The survey was open for a total of three weeks and achieved just six complete responses. From inspection of the survey diagnostics available through the online survey tool itself and using analytics software it was clear that although only six respondents completed the survey around 46 people (users from unique IP addresses) had started the survey giving a completion rate of just 13 per cent. This was even though the time taken to complete the survey was generally within the target of 15-20 minutes. It was particularly important to address this issue as, for ethical reasons, the survey tool used for the survey only saves respondents' answers when they complete the survey and hit 'submit'.

A number of potential causes for respondents quitting the survey early were investigated including the design and wording of some of the questions, technical issues (such as logo overlap and length of answer lists on some platforms/devices), and overall time to complete the survey. A number of minor technical and wording changes were made including changing the logo banner and consolidating response

categories. However, the main change made at this stage was to reduce the overall number of ‘perceived development’ questions by removing ‘temporary/fixed-term work’ from the list of job types and removing ‘providing a reliable income’ from the list of employment benefits. The temporary/fixed-term employment item was felt to be less important to the objectives of the study than the other types of employment listed, in terms of providing a point of comparison for internships, and ‘providing a reliable income’ was felt to be less interesting because feedback from the semantic pilot suggested that the answers to this were more or less self-evident. Although, it was not possible to run a second live pilot before the survey went live, it would appear the above changes did indeed address the problem as completion rates for the live survey were much higher (29 to 51 per cent) and the average time taken to complete the survey was much shorter than in the pilot (nine to 15 minutes on average). The final questionnaire text can be seen in Appendix E.

Fieldwork

After completing the questionnaire development the full survey went live in September 2014 and was open for a total of 13 weeks. There was some variation in when HEIs started the survey and sent reminders, which meant that the overall fieldwork period was much longer than planned, but generally, at each institution the survey was open for two to three weeks. For most participating institutions there was an initial lead in time for the survey of around two months whereby sampling contacts carried out the sampling tasks in preparation for the initial mail out when the survey was ready to go live. During this period, and throughout the fieldwork period, the researcher was in regular contact with sample contacts in order to support with sampling queries, monitor progress and feedback progress with response rates at regular intervals following mail outs and reminders. Participating institutions carried out two to four mailings, including one initial invite email and one to three subsequent reminders (Appendix F). In most cases the email was signed by a representative from high up within the relevant faculty or from a member of the careers team. It was felt that having a high level and/or recognisable name on the email invites would encourage response from recipients.

Overall, the survey achieved 616 responses. After adjusting for email addresses that were known to be undeliverable this equated to an overall response rate of eight per cent. Response rates varied considerably from institution to institution and ranged from four to twenty per cent, with a mean response rate of nine per cent. However, it should be noted that the institutions with the lowest response rates, which also

tended to be larger institutions, did not provide sample feedback on undeliverable email addresses and so the adjusted response rate is likely to be higher. Also, this only takes into account email addresses which were no longer in use, whereas it is also quite possible, given the time elapsed since leaving university, that the some of the email addresses were still ‘active’ but just are not checked regularly meaning that the true adjusted response rate could be much higher. Although the above response rate is quite low, it is only slightly lower than the response rate achieved by the CGCF study (14 per cent). As has been noted by other researchers a low response rate does not necessarily lead to bias in the sample, provided the achieved sample can be considered as being broadly representative of the target population on key measures of interest, and increasing response rates does not necessarily improve sample representativeness. For example, Keeter, Miller, Kohut, Groves, and Presser (2000) found very little difference in estimates in a large-scale survey when the response rate was 31 per cent or 61 per cent. Meterko et al. (2015) found no significant differences in respondents’ characteristics and responses between the four separate waves of the survey from wave one when 30 per cent responded to wave four when ten per cent responded. And Curtin, Presser and Singer (2000) analysed responses from 211 rounds of a consumer attitudes survey over a period of 17 years and found very little difference in response between people who responded straight away and those who initially refused.

In order to examine the representativeness of the sample the profile of the achieved sample was compared to HESA data for the subject areas and cohorts covered by the survey, where available. In some cases population data for CAD and MCD graduates from just the participating institutions is also shown in parentheses. The sample comparison can be seen in Table 5.4 and Table 5.5. Where HESA subject area data were available for participating HEIs the sample closely reflected the population in terms of subject area and broad geographic region, although there was a slight overrepresentation of graduates from Scottish institutions and a slight underrepresentation of graduates from London institutions. Compared to HESA data for CAD and MCD graduates the survey sample broadly reflected the population in terms of age, gender and ethnicity, although there is a slight overrepresentation of white and older graduates. Compared to the population there is an overrepresentation of graduates with a first class degree and an underrepresentation of those with a 2:2 or below, and an overrepresentation of those from the most recent cohort (as might be expected). It should be noted, however, that population data on grades is not available for graduates from participating institutions for the subject

areas covered and so this comparison is only broadly indicative, as achieved grades are likely to vary from institution to institution.

Weighting the data to correct for potential bias in terms of cohort and grades was considered. However, this was discounted because: a) although graduates with higher grades and from the most recent cohort were overrepresented, the sample was broadly representative in terms of other characteristics; b) a lack of any data on non-responders and only marginal data from the wider population means that any weighting scheme would be only a rough approximation; and c) the regression techniques employed to investigate participation patterns and outcomes controls for individual characteristics in order to examine the unique contribution of each variable anyway. Consequently, while the multivariate techniques used in the analysis will control for any imbalance in the sample due to grades and cohort, it is worth noting these differences to the wider population when considering overall and bivariate estimates.

Table 5.4: Sample comparison (personal characteristics)

	Sample, %	Population comparison, %*
Gender		
Male	33.9	40.0[39.5]
Female	65.9	60.0[60.5]
Base, N	615	531,555[35,720]
Age at graduation		
Under 25	79.5	85.0
25-29	9.4	8.3
30+	11	6.7
Base, N	616	136,330
Ethnicity		
White	93	86.0
Black	1.1	3.4
Asian	2.8	4.0
Mixed/other	2.4	4.2
Unknown	0.7	2.4
Base, N	616	129,250
Domicile		
UK	89.7	94.8
Other EU	10.3	5.2
Base, N	602	136,330

Base: All respondents (N= 616)
Notes:* Population comparison figures are UK and EU first degree qualifiers from CAD and MCD subjects in 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12 combined, except for gender which are UK and EU first degree students studying CAD and MCD subjects in 2009/10 and 2011/12 and undergraduate students in 2007/08 [figures in square brackets are UK and EU first degree graduates from the 2011/12 cohort from CAD and MCD subjects]. Population data for ethnicity is UK domiciled only.
Source: HESA Student Record 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12; HESA Destination of Leavers 2011/12

Table 5.5: Sample comparison (study characteristics)

	Sample, %	Population comparison, %
Cohort		
2007/08	24.4	31.0
2009/10	26.5	32.2
2011/12	49.2	36.5
Base, N	616	144,290
Classification of degree		
1st	27.3	14.2
Upper second	51.3	50.2
Lower second	18.8	27.9
3rd/pass	2.1	6.0
Unclassified	0.5	1.7
Base, N	616	144,290
Subject area		
CAD	83.4	78.0 (82.0)
MCD	16.6	22.0 (18.0)
Base, N	602	144,290
Region of HEI		
Scotland	8.9	5.0 (3.0)
Wales	16.9	5.5 (14.3)
North East/North West/Yorkshire and Humberside	14.9	22.3 (15.4)
Mid/East of England	20.9	21.7 (21.0)
London	13	21.1 (23.0)
South West/South East	25.3	23.1 (23.3)
Northern Ireland		1.3 (-)
Base, N	616	144,290 (20,535)

Base: All respondents (N= 616)
Notes: Figures in parenthesis are for participating HEIs only
* Population comparison figures are all UK and EU first degree qualifiers in CAD and MCD subjects in 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12 combined.
Source: HESA Student Record 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12

Data cleaning

The dataset was checked for any duplicate cases by comparing the network ID of responses. This essentially identifies where responses have been submitted from the

same network address, which in most cases will mean that responses have been submitted from the same address or office. Only nine of the total 623 cases were identified as being submitted from the same network address. Two of the nine were individual responses that had been taken over the phone by the researcher and so were genuine individual cases and were both kept in the dataset. The remaining seven pairs of duplicates were inspected to see if they looked like they had been submitted by the same person, or if they had simply been submitted by two different individuals in the same building/address. This was done by inspecting personal characteristics, university, course and job data to see if the responses looked like they had been submitted by the same person. In all seven cases it was clear that they were duplicate responses. When deciding which response to keep and which to delete, the response was deleted if:

a) Answers in the response were not internally consistent (i.e. later answers did not fit with earlier answers in the response);

b) The response contained missing answers, or appeared to have been rushed through (e.g. clicking all answers in a group the same to skip through them);

c) The two responses were essentially the same. In this case the earlier response was deleted.

In the end seven duplicate responses were deleted, leaving a total of 616 eligible cases.

Responses were then checked for eligibility by looking at institution, domicile, course and year of graduation. All 616 cases reported studying at one of the eligible institutions. One case did report graduating at a university not taking part in the survey. However, it was decided to keep the case because they met all of the other eligibility criteria and it was felt that the respondent was unlikely to have received the email invite if they had not studied at the institution sending out the invite and was recoded to reflect this. A total of 38 cases reported graduating in a year other than the three graduating cohorts covered by the survey. In 28 of these cases the respondent reported graduating in one of the intervening years (i.e. 2009 and 2011) and one case reported graduating in 2007. All 28 of these cases were kept as it quite feasible that they graduated part way through the academic year and so may genuinely have been in the target cohorts. A further nine respondents reported graduating in 2013 and one in 2014. All ten of these respondents were of an age where they may have stayed on for further study and so could conceivably

misinterpreted the question to be asking about when they left university as opposed to when they finished their undergraduate degree.

Seven respondents reported being ‘a non-EU/overseas student’ when they started their undergraduate degree. Of these, two were currently living in the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man, and one was currently living in the EU. As the number of cases reporting that they were from outside the UK or wider EU was relatively small, and they were from a range of different institutions, it is unlikely that they were included in the sample because of an error in the sampling procedure (e.g. one institution including overseas students in the sample) and possible that they may still have been officially classed as UK or EU students despite reporting that they were non-EU students when starting their course. A further seven respondents answered ‘Don’t know/not sure’ to the domicile question. However, as there is no reason to assume they were not UK or EU students they were assumed to be eligible.

In terms of subjects studied, 605 respondents stated the name of the course they graduated from and all were from eligible subjects. Only eleven cases did not state the subject of their course and in most cases they simply stated that it was a ‘BA’ or ‘BA(hons)’. None of the respondents described their course as an MA, PGCE, or other non-first degree level course. As there was no reason to assume that the sampling had not gone to plan, these cases were included as eligible.

Definitions and data/coding choices

In the main, issues related to data definitions and coding were resolved during the piloting and development phase of the survey. However, a number of data coding choices needed to be made in relation to the coding of courses/subjects, coding of occupations, and defining outcome measures.

Subject area of study

Subjects were coded using the JACS 2.0 coding structure (as JACS 2.0 was the structure in place whilst respondents were at university). In cases where course titles were ambiguous or could potentially have been coded into one of two different categories (e.g. BA Film and TV Production) reference was made to the course codes used at the institution respondents graduated from, where these were available. For example, ‘TV production’ at one institution might be within W6 ‘Cinematics and Photography’ while at another institution ‘Film and TV production’ might be within P3 ‘Media Studies’. Where respondents reported joint honours or

major/minor courses both subjects were coded with the first subject mentioned being coded as ‘Subject 1’. Subjects were then coded up into two broad subject areas: Creative Arts and Design (CAD), and Mass Communications and Documentation (MCD). When coding broad subject group, where the course reported straddled two different subject areas, the first subject mentioned was used (subject 1). However, if the first subject was not CAD or MCD, the second subject was used instead (e.g. ‘English literature and media’ would be coded as MCD).

Coding occupations

Following the guidelines set out in the Office for National Statistics’ SOC 2010 coding manual (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2010a), and using the ONS’ online coding tool[1] respondents’ current jobs were coded into occupations based on self-reported job titles. The coding tool – based on the ‘Standard Occupational Classification 2010 (SOC2010) Volume 2 coding index’ (ONS, 2010b) – searches the index in order to match job titles to occupations and returns a list of potential matches. The user then selects the occupation code that most closely fits the self-reported job title. Searches were based on job title. Self-reported industry was also taken into consideration in cases where job title on its own did not provide enough information to distinguish between potential SOC codes. If the search returned no match to the respondents’ precise wording the search was repeated using equivalent search terms (e.g. ‘Contact centre assistant’ was replaced with ‘Contact centre’, returning ‘Call and contact centre occupations’). Where reported job titles returned two separate SOC codes, the code that reflected the part of the job title reported first was selected (e.g. for ‘Graphic/Web designer’, the code for ‘Graphic designer’ was selected).

Occupational outcomes

Once respondents’ current job occupations had been coded outcome measures were created in order to examine the proposition that internships help graduates to get graduate or creative jobs. One of the key themes in the literature and in public discourse is that engaging in an internship enables interns gain job experience, develop employability and they are increasingly seen as an essential route to many

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1 http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/HTMLDocs/dev3/ONS_SOC_occupation_coding_tool.html

professions and industries (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). If this is the case it might be reasonable to ask whether or not graduates with internship experience do indeed tend to be more likely to have graduate level or creative jobs in the short to medium term. In order to examine this proposition two occupational outcome measures were created. The first of these was whether or not graduates had a 'graduate level' job in any of up to three reported jobs at the time of the survey, and the second measure was whether or not they had a 'creative' occupation in any of up to three jobs reported.

The reason for considering *any* of their reported jobs was because, although the majority (60 per cent) of respondents only had one job at the time of the survey two-fifths (40 per cent) had two or more and, as the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* project found, it is not uncommon for creative graduates to work in a variety of different jobs in order to pursue a creative career (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010; Ball, Pollard, Stanley and Oakley, 2010). In some cases, this may be through necessity as graduates attempt to navigate complex transitions into the labour market, but in other cases this may be through choice. For example, in the above studies it was not uncommon for graduates to combine work in teaching or some other area in order to support other creative work. That said, some analyses also looked at outcomes for 'main' job only (i.e. the one they spent the most time on) in order to see whether those with intern experience were any more likely to have a graduate level or creative job as a main job.

Graduate level jobs

Graduate level jobs were defined as SOC 2010 major groups 1-3: 'Managers, directors and senior officials', 'Professional occupations' and 'Associate professional and technical occupations'. Whilst it is recognised that there continues to be debate about what sorts of occupations might genuinely be considered as 'graduate' jobs in the traditional sense (James, Warhurst, Tholen and Commander 2013; Purcell et al., 2012), and that the above definition may include some jobs that many would argue would not traditionally have required a degree in order to be able to perform the necessary tasks (e.g. Ware, 2015a, 2015b), it is not the intention of this research to engage in this debate. Rather the aim here was to create a measure that identified where graduates were doing at least one job at a level requiring a relatively higher level of education and that by and large tend to be occupied by graduates. In addition, the measure employed in this research is the same as is regularly reported in HESA reporting of the DLHE and LDLHE as 'professional occupations' and was

reported by sampling contacts in careers departments as a measure that was commonly used internally as a measure of the labour market success of their own graduates. While there are differences between the measure of graduate-level jobs described here and other measures of graduate jobs, in practice only a small number of graduates in the sample (24 cases, four per cent of respondents in work) were coded as 'graduate level' using the above definition that would not have been coded as a 'graduate job' using the SOC(HE) definition put forward by Elias and Purcell (2012). Jobs were defined as work activities described as 'Permanent employment (with wage/salary)', 'Self-employed/freelance (including own business, and commission work)' or 'Temporary employment/fixed term contract (with wage/salary)'. Jobs described as internships, voluntary work or portfolio/own creative work were not counted in the outcome measure, as these were considered to represent activities that graduates might be engaging in in order to work towards a 'graduate job' at a later stage. In practice, this restriction only applied to a relatively small number of respondents (30 cases, five per cent of respondents in work).

Creative jobs

Previous research has shown that for many creative graduates being able to be creative in work and having the opportunity to be creative is often important (Ball et al., 2010; Ball, Pollard, Stanley and Oakley, 2010; Hesmondalgh, 2010). As such it was important to include an outcome measure that reflected this, particularly as it has been suggested that internships are increasingly seen as essential for accessing careers in the creative industries (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). In order to do this a similar outcome measure to the one described above for graduate-level jobs was created using the SOC codes based on self-reported job titles (see above). Creative jobs were defined using a definition developed in the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* project, which was developed in collaboration with a range of creative industries and Higher Education stakeholders (Ball et al., 2010a). This definition of creative jobs was chosen as it was found to work well in the aforementioned project and aligned closely with the subject areas covered by the current survey.

A full list of occupations included in this definition of creative occupations can be seen in Appendix H. However, examples of creative occupations commonly cited by respondents in the current survey included: 'Graphic designers', 'Arts officers, directors and producers', 'Product, clothing and related designers', 'Artists and illustrators', 'Marketing associate professionals' and 'Web design and development

professionals'. It is worth noting that many of the occupations included in this definition would also be classed as 'graduate' jobs both in the definition outlined in the previous section and in other definitions (e.g. Elias and Purcell, 2012). The outcome measure was whether graduates had a creative occupation using this definition in at least one of their reported current activities.

As with the measure of graduate jobs described above, a distinction was made between those activities that were 'jobs' and activities which graduates were carrying out off their own backs or in order to get jobs. Because of changes to the SOC code categorisation system, from SOC 2000 to 2010, since the time of the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* survey a few minor changes to SOC codes included in the definition of creative jobs needed to be made. However, this did not involve any substantive change to the definition. One minor change that was made was that the occupations 'Business sales executives' and 'Sales administrators' (SOC codes 3542 and 4151 respectively) were excluded from the definition of creative occupations used in the current study as they did not seem characteristically creative. Only around six respondents were affected by this change.

5.2.4 **Ethical issues**

The research was carried out in accordance with the ethical guidelines set out by the British Psychological Society, the British Sociological Association and the Social Research Association (BPS, 2010; BSA, 2002; SRA, 2003). Furthermore, in accordance with university policy for research degrees before any primary data collection could be undertaken a favourable ethical opinion was sought from, and was granted by, the Faculty Ethics Committee. A completed ethical approval form and response can be found in Appendix I.

For the secondary analysis of DLHE data the main ethical consideration was to maintain the anonymity of respondents to the survey by ensuring that no individual could be identified from any of the tables reported in the research. This was achieved by adhering to the HESA services' standard rounding methodology, which is as follows:

1. 0, 1, 2 must be rounded to 0
2. All other numbers must be rounded to the nearest multiple of 5
3. Percentages based on 52 or fewer individuals must be suppressed
4. Averages based on 7 or fewer individuals must be suppressed

5. Full-Time Equivalent data does not require rounding
6. Financial data does not require rounding
(HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12)

In addition, in accordance with the supply of data agreement with the HESA Bespoke Data Service all data presented in the research needed to be attributed to HESA using the specified format along with a standard caveat, as follows:

Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12
Copyright Higher Education Statistics Agency Limited 2013
HESA cannot accept responsibility for any inferences or conclusions derived from the data by third parties.
(HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12)

For the primary quantitative survey the main ethical considerations that needed to be taken into account related to the principal of the prevention of undue harm to human research participants (SRA, 2003). In order to comply with this principle the main three issues that need to be addressed related to anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent (BPS, 2010; BSA, 2002). In order to preserve the anonymity of survey respondents to the CGCS names and other personally identifiable data, such as email addresses were not asked for or collected in the online survey. On the last page of the online questionnaire respondents were asked if they were interested in receiving future updates about the research and/or potentially taking part in a follow up interview. If respondents answered yes to this question they were redirected to a separate online survey form where they could indicate their preferences regarding future contact and could leave their first name and email address. The data collected in this second separate survey form were kept entirely separate from respondents' main survey responses which remained entirely anonymous. In addition, care was taken to ensure respondents could not be identified in any of the tables presented in the research or provided to participating HEIs by not reporting any proportions where the base number was 30 or lower.

Respondents answers were kept confidential, firstly by making sure the survey was anonymous, and secondly by ensuring the data was held securely. The data collected and held using an online survey tool was held using 128-bit SSL encryption. Access to the data was secured using a login and password and could only be accessed by the researcher and survey company administrators only with the express permission of the researcher. Once the survey was closed the data was downloaded to a personal computer and held on a hard drive using 256-bit SSL encryption. Access to the computer was again secured using a login and password and was only accessible by the researcher.

The informed consent of participants was assured using a combination of measures. Firstly, all email invites and reminders provided recipients with: an overview of the research; information about how they were selected and contacted; a link to the online survey site and a link to a separate information page. The welcome page of the online survey again provided an introduction to the research and again contained a link to the information page. The information page provided readers with an overview of what the research was about and the main aims, provided a summary of the key points and then a more complete list of information in the form of frequently asked questions. All the information was contained in the one web page with speed links to help readers find information of interest quickly and easily. The information covered information about: how they were selected and contacted; what taking part in the survey would involve; that the survey was voluntary and how to withdraw should they want to; anonymity and confidentiality of the survey; how their data would be used and disposed of; potential advantages of taking part; what to do if there was a problem; details of the ethical review process; and contact information for the researcher and supervisor. In addition, respondents' answers were not saved until they reached the end of the survey and hit the 'submit' button. On the final page of the online survey respondents were presented with the following text:

That's all the questions. If you are happy with your answers, please click 'Ok' and then hit 'Submit'. (Or scroll down and hit 'submit')

Respondents were also able to scroll back through their answers to ensure they were happy with them and could change them should they want to. This ensured that respondents were fully aware of all of the survey questions before their answers were saved.

The final ethical issue related to the survey concerned data protection and sampling. As mentioned in the sampling section above, all of the sampling and contacting tasks were carried out by HEIs themselves, with HEI staff selecting the sample, extracting contact details and conducting the necessary email mail merges. This meant that no data was passed on to or processed by any third party. Respondents were contacted directly by the institutions themselves and were informed about how they were selected and contacted. Where participating institutions had a facility for removing respondents from future reminders about the survey, this information was also added to all email correspondence. However, this aspect was left up to participating institutions, as it depended upon their being able to offer this facility.

6 Secondary analysis of Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education data

This chapter explores what the DLHE can tell us about internships. As outlined in chapter two, internships are thought to be a growing feature of the graduate labour market. The 'dual view' of internships contends that on the one hand internships are a key way for individuals to develop employability and get a foothold in the labour market, while at the same time they are seen as potentially exploitative and a barrier to social mobility. However, as noted previously, little is known about the extent of the practice, common features (e.g. pay, hours and quality), and the extent to which different aspects of the 'dual view' are borne out in practice has yet to be demonstrated. The analysis in this chapter provides a broad overview of engagement of graduates in internships at six months after graduation. The chapter interrogates the data in relation to six research questions (that help inform the three overarching research questions of the study) and concludes by painting a picture of internships at an important time graduates' early careers.

6.1 The Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education survey

The DLHE is a statutory survey of recent graduates carried out annually by higher education institutions on behalf of the Higher Education Statistics Authority (HESA). Details about the survey and the analysis presented in this chapter can be found in chapter five. However, the key point in relation to this analysis is that it provides a

reliable and generalisable source of data on the initial employment situation of graduates from UK HEIs at an important stage in their early careers (i.e. six months after finishing their course).

The aim of this analysis is not to give a definitive picture of the situation of all interns working in the UK. Rather, the aim is to get some idea of the situation of a particular group of people (i.e. recent graduates) who are at a crucial stage in their careers when many will be looking to take their first step on the employment ladder. Although, on its own, the analysis will not be able to give the full picture of the situation and experiences of interns it will seek to answer the following research questions:

- How many graduates do internships?
- What sorts of graduates do internships (profile of interns, most/least likely)?
- What is the nature of internships (pay, hours, quality, industry, occupations)?
- Why do interns do internships?
- How do graduates find out about and access internships?
- How do graduates manage on internships (e.g. any additional jobs and/or earnings)?

The chapter explores each of these questions in turn illustrating the findings with tables and charts where appropriate. A full set of tables from the analysis is provided in the appendices.

6.2 How many graduates do internships?

The DLHE asks a series of questions that seek to capture the employment situation at six months after graduation. First, respondents are asked to select from a list all of the work and work-related experiences they are engaged in on the census date. These experiences range from full-time or part-time work (including internships and voluntary work), to further study, unemployment, and taking time out from the labour market. Respondents are asked to indicate all of these that apply and are then asked to indicate which of these they feel is their ‘most important’ activity. Depending on the

combination of responses given HESA then computes a derived variable that summarises the employment activity of graduates which it uses for its annual reporting on graduate employment. In the figures HESA publish graduates 'in employment' are defined as all respondents who indicate that any of their activities at six months was full-time or part-time work AND their main activity was either work, further study, or 'due to start a job in the next month'. Any respondents indicating that their main activity was 'unemployed and looking for work', 'taking time out in order to travel' or 'something else', are coded in the data set as 'unemployed' or 'other' even if they reported working as one of their secondary activities. However, on inspection of the data it was clear that a number of graduates do in fact indicate that they were unemployed, taking time out, or 'other' as their main activity but also indicated that they were doing some form of work. On further inspection it was also clear that a number of these were also engaged in internships or voluntary work. Therefore, although the derived variable that HESA uses for publication is reported in Table 6.1 the remainder of this chapter reports on respondents that indicated 'any evidence of work', unless otherwise stated for comparison.

As noted above, respondents who report any work activity are asked to give details about the work that they consider to be their 'main' job or work, including indicating from a list the basis on which they were employed: self-employed, starting their own business, on a fixed-term contract, on a permanent contract, doing voluntary work, on an internship, developing a portfolio/creative practice, temping, or 'other'.

Table 6.2 shows the employment basis in their 'main job' for graduates in employment using both the HESA definition and including those with any evidence of work.

The data shows that 6,300 graduates self-defined as on an internship at six months after graduation, representing 1.5 per cent of all graduates, or 2.1 per cent of those in work (using either definition of those in employment). However, a further 5,590 graduates (1.8 per cent of those with any work) indicated that they were engaged in voluntary work for their main job. On inspecting the occupations and industry that these 'voluntary' workers were working in it was clear that a number of these were working in occupations and industries outside of the voluntary and public sector that might otherwise be considered as fitting in with the idea of internships. Some examples of industries (at the 2-digit level) that these 'volunteers' were working in include:

- (58) Publishing activities;
- (59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities;
- (64) Financial service activities, except insurance and pension funding;
- (69) Legal and accounting activities;
- (70) Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities;
- (71) Architectural and engineering activities; technical testing and analysis;
- (73) Advertising and market research;
- (74) Other professional, scientific and technical activities;
- (90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities.

Some examples of occupations (at the 4-digit level) that 'volunteers' were working in, that might be considered internships rather than 'voluntary' work in the more traditional sense, include:

- (2137) Web design and development professionals;
- (2141) Conservation professionals;
- (2419) Legal professionals n.e.c.;
- (2423) Management consultants and business analysts;
- (2426) Researchers (media, national security, police and n.e.c.);
- (2471) Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors;
- (2472) Public relations professionals;
- (3121) Architectural and town planning technicians;
- (3411) Artists;
- (3412) Authors, writers and translators;
- (3413) Actors, entertainers and presenters;

- (3416) Arts officers, producers and directors;
- (3417) Photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operators;
- (3421) Graphic, exhibition, multimedia designers, commercial artists, desktop publishing assistants and operators;
- (3422) Designers (clothing, textiles, jewellery, furniture, interior, set, industrial, and product);
- (3442) Sports coaches, instructors and officials;
- (3520) Legal associate professionals;
- (3539) Business and related associate professionals n.e.c.;
- (3543) Marketing associate professionals;
- (3546) Conference and exhibition managers and organisers;
- (3550) Conservation and environmental associate professionals;
- (4122) Book-keepers, payroll managers and wages clerks;
- (4159) Other administrative occupations n.e.c.

In order to reflect the fact that many of these self-defined 'voluntary' workers might quite reasonably be considered 'interns' a wider definition of interns was coded in the data to include all self-defined 'interns' as well as any 'voluntary' workers who were working **outside of** the industries and occupations listed in Appendix A[1]. Industries/sectors were excluded first and then any remaining graduates found to be in the listed occupations who were working outside these industries were excluded next. All graduates who self-defined as 'interns' were included in the wider definition of interns regardless of which industry/sector they worked in. 'Volunteers' in the retail trade were excluded from this definition of internships so as to make sure the potentially large number of charity shop volunteers were not mistakenly coded as 'interns'.

[1] This is not an exhaustive list of industries and occupations that might be considered as 'voluntary', but rather just represents a list of industries and occupations excluded from the definition of interns that were found amongst graduates within the dataset.

Using this wider definition of interns a total of 7,675 graduates were engaged in internships at six months, representing 1.9 per cent of all graduates or 2.5 per cent of those with any evidence of work (Table 6.2). To put this figure in context, Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) estimated that there could have been around 30-35,000 graduate internships in total in 2010, estimating that the 8,000 vacancies advertised through the GTP represented around one-third to one-quarter of all internships. In addition, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) reported that only around one-quarter to one-third of internships on the GTP were carried out in the first six months after graduation. Thus, if the number of graduates in the DLHE engaging in internships at six months represents around one-third to one-quarter of interns this would give an estimate of around 23-31,000 interns. Although it is hard to say for sure what proportion of graduates participate in internships at different stages, if this estimate is broadly correct the figures would appear to be more akin to those reported by Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC (2011) than were estimated by Lawton and Potter (2010) drawing on estimates from the CIPD.

Table 6.1: Activity at 6 months after graduation, HESA categories, internships and wider definition of internships

		N	%
Activity	Full-time work	224,645	54.7
	Part-time work	52,390	12.7
	Primarily in work and also studying	16,720	4.1
	Primarily studying and also in work	13,230	3.2
	In employment (HESA definition)	306,985	74.7
	Full-time study	49,765	12.1
	Part-time study	6,000	1.5
	Due to start work	3,020	0.7
	Unemployed	26,790	6.5
	Other	18,445	4.5
	Not in employment	104,020	25.3
	Total	411,005	100
Activity - inc. internships (self-defined - inc. any evidence of work)	Work (FT or PT or any evidence)	273,885	66.6
	Work and study (any balance)	29,365	7.1
	- Internship (employed)	6,300	1.5
	- Internship (wide definition)	7,675	1.9
	Any evidence of work	309,550	75.3
	Study only (FT or PT)	55,765	13.6
	Due to start work	3,020	0.7
	Unemployed	26,395	6.4
	Other	16,275	4
	No evidence of work	101,450	24.7
	Total	411,005	100

Base: All respondents
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 6.2: Basis of employment and internships

	In employment (HESA definition)		Any evidence of work	
Employment basis	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Self-employed/freelance	15,620	5.1	15,870	5.2
Starting up own business	2,095	0.7	2,145	0.7
On a permanent or open-ended contract	184,595	60.8	185,450	60.6
On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	44,665	14.7	44,850	14.7
On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	25,925	8.5	26,295	8.6
Voluntary work	5,265	1.7	5,590	1.8
Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	3,970	1.3	4,210	1.4
On an internship (self-defined)	6,245	2.1	6,300	2.1
Interns - wide definition	7,540	2.5	7,675	2.5
Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice	1,265	0.4	1,310	0.4
Temping (including supply teaching)	11,280	3.7	11,510	3.8
Total	306,985	100	309,550	100

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.3 Which graduates do internships (profile of interns, most/least likely)?

Using the wider definition of internships, the profile of interns largely reflected that of the sample more broadly on most personal and study characteristics (Table 6.3 and Table 6.4). However, compared to the overall sample of graduates, interns tended to be:

- Younger than on average (87 per cent of interns were 25 or under compared to 63 per cent of the sample on average);
- More likely to come from managerial/professional backgrounds (61 compared to 53 per cent) and less likely to be working class (19 compared to 25 per cent of all graduates);
- More likely to have been to public school (15 compared to eight per cent);
- More likely to come from London or the South East prior to starting their course (23 and 18 per cent respectively compared to 14 per cent for both domiciles).

In terms of study characteristics, interns were more likely than on average to have:

- Completed a first degree or a masters (78 and 18 per cent of interns respectively compared to 60 and 13 per cent of the sample);
- Achieved a 2:1 or above if a first degree graduate (76 per cent compared to 66 per cent of the sample);
- Studied creative art and design, historical and philosophical studies, mass communications studies, social studies, Law, or languages and related studies;
- Have studied at a Russell Group or 1994 Group university.

Industries with the highest participation rates of internships can be seen in Table 10.3. The ten sectors with the highest rates, and the proportion of graduates working in each sector who were interns, were:

- (99) Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies – 36 per cent;
- (94) Activities of membership organisations – 13 per cent;

- (58) Publishing activities – 13 per cent;
- (60) Programming and broadcasting activities – eleven per cent;
- (59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities – nine per cent;
- (70) Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities – nine per cent;
- (14) Manufacture of wearing apparel – nine per cent;
- (73) Advertising and market research – eight per cent;
- (90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities – eight per cent;
- (91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities – eight per cent.

The occupations with high internship participation rates among graduates largely reflected the industries/sectors listed above. The twenty occupations (at the four-digit SOC level) with the highest participation in internships can be seen in Table 10.4. Among the most common of these were:

- (2472) Public relations professionals – 21 per cent;
- (2114) Social and humanities scientists – 20 per cent;
- (2141) Conservation professionals, (3550) Conservation and environmental associate professionals – 15 and 17 per cent respectively;
- (4114) Officers of non-governmental organisations – 14 per cent;
- (2452) Archivists and curators – 14 per cent;
- (2471) Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors – 14 per cent;
- (5411-5419, 8137 and 8113) Textiles, footwear and apparel trades and process operatives – twelve per cent combined;
- (3543) Marketing associate professionals – twelve per cent;
- (5244) TV, video and audio engineers – twelve per cent;

- (2426) Researchers (media, national security, police and n.e.c) – twelve per cent.

Taken together, these findings reflect those of previous studies which have suggested that internships may be more common among first degree and masters graduates, those with higher degree classifications or those who have studied at a Russell Group institution, and among graduates from humanities and arts, and social studies and business related subjects (e.g. Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). However, unlike these previous studies where graduates from black and minority ethnic groups were less successful in gaining internships the DLHE data suggests that graduates from black and minority ethnic groups were actually slightly more likely to be engaged in internships at six months than were white graduates (Table 6.3). However, on investigation of the data this relationship appears to be partially driven by the fact that graduates from black and minority ethnic groups are disproportionately more likely to be domiciled in London, which was strongly associated with engagement in internships. And some have suggested that graduates may be more inclined to engage in internships when they are located near the family home (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). When domicile is introduced to a cross tabulation between ethnicity and propensity to take part in an internship the relationship between ethnicity and internships is greatly reduced, although in most geographical regions Asian and mixed race/other graduates are still slightly more likely to do an internship than white or black graduates (Table 6.5).

The industries and occupations with high participation rates in internships reflect industries identified in the literature that have been found to have significant numbers of interns or where internships are thought to be a growing feature of the labour market (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009).

Table 6.3: Profile of interns, personal characteristics

		Interns	All in work
Male	%	42.1	40.2
Female	%	57.9	59.8
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	7,675	309,550
21 or under	%	33.3	22.1
22 to 25	%	53.7	40.5
26 to 29	%	7.2	11.3
30 to 39	%	3.3	12.9
40 to 49	%	1.3	9.2
50+	%	1.2	4.1
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	7,670	309,495
White	%	79	85.3
Asian	%	10.5	7.4
Black	%	5.4	4.1
Other(including mixed)	%	5.1	3.2
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	6,465	288,860
Managerial/Professional(1-2)	%	60.8	53
Intermediate(3-4)	%	20.2	22.2
Routine/Manual(5-8)	%	19.1	24.8
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	4,610	154,605
Other neighbourhood	%	93.4	89.6
Low-participation neighbourhood	%	6.6	10.4
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	6520	291,025
Private school	%	14.5	7.9
State school	%	85.5	92.1
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	5,480	198,475
North East	%	3.6	4.1
North West	%	9	11.8
Yorkshire and The Humber	%	4.9	7.2
East Midlands	%	5.8	6.9
West Midlands	%	7.2	8.8

		Interns	All in work
East of England	%	10.6	9.1
London	%	22.8	13.8
South East	%	17.5	13.7
South West	%	7.1	8.2
England region unknown	%	0.3	0.4
Northern Ireland	%	3.0	3.4
Scotland	%	4.9	7.4
Wales	%	3.1	4.9
UK region unknown	%	0.1	0.1
Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man	%	0.2	0.2
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	6,565	293,815
UK (inc. Islands)	%	85.5	94.9
EU	%	14.5	5.1
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	7,675	309,550

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 6.4: Profile of interns, study characteristics

		Interns	All in work
First degree	%	77.5	60
Other undergraduate	%	2.9	13
PGCE	%	0.3	6.2
Masters	%	17.9	13.4
Doctorate	%	0.2	2.2
Other postgraduate	%	1.2	5.2
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	7,675	309,550
First class honours	%	19.7	16.9
Upper second class honours	%	56.4	48.6
Lower second class honours	%	19.2	23
Third class honours/Pass	%	2.5	4
Unclassified	%	2.2	7.5
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	5,950	185,705
1994 Group	%	8.0	5.6
Million+	%	10.0	15.0
Russell Group	%	34.4	22.8
University Alliance	%	20.0	25.0
Other institutions	%	27.6	31.6
	Base, N	7,675	309,550
A - MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY	%	0.7	3
B - SUBJECTS ALLIED TO MEDICINE	%	2.6	12.1
C - BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES	%	8.0	7.8
D - VETERINARY SCIENCES, AGRICULTURE AND RELATED SUBJECTS	%	1.0	1.1
F - PHYSICAL SCIENCES	%	3.5	3.3
G - MATHEMATICAL AND COMPUTER SCIENCES	%	3.9	4.5
H, J - ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY	%	3.5	5.2
K - ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING AND PLANNING	%	3.6	2.9
L - SOCIAL STUDIES	%	13.3	9.4
M – LAW	%	5.4	3.5
N - BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES	%	13	12.6
P – MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION	%	5.7	2.7
Q, R, T – LANGUAGES AND RELATED	%	9.5	4.6

		Interns	All in work
V - HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES	%	7.2	3.7
W - CREATIVE ARTS AND DESIGN	%	17.1	8.5
X – EDUCATION	%	1.4	14.6
J – COMBINED	%	0.5	0.7
Total	%	100	100
	Base, N	7,675	309,550

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 6.5: Participation in internships, by ethnicity and region

	White,	Asian,	Black,	Other (inc. mixed),	All ethnicities,
Domicile	**% Interns**	**% Interns**	**% Interns**	**% Interns**	**% Interns**
North East	1.9	3.3	1.1	4.2	2
North West	1.6	2.6	1.7	2.1	1.7
Yorkshire and The Humber	1.5	2.2	0.9	2.2	1.5
East Midlands	1.7	3.2	2.5	2.2	1.9
West Midlands	1.5	3.3	2.9	3.1	1.8
East of England	2.6	2.7	2.5	3.8	2.6
London	3.7	3.5	3.6	4.5	3.7
South East	2.8	3.6	1.7	4.2	2.9
South West	1.9	1.6	1.3	2.2	1.9
England region unknown	1.3	2.4	3.6	-	1.5
Northern Ireland	2.0	0.0	-	1.7	2.0
Scotland	1.5	2.0	0.7	2.6	1.5
Wales	1.3	4.6	2.3	3.4	1.4
UK region unknown	1.5	-	-	-	1.4
Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man	1.9	-	-	-	1.9
All UK	2.1	3.2	2.9	3.6	2.2
Base, N	246,325	21,450	11,840	9,240	288,860

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Note: '-' percentage suppressed to comply with HESA's rounding rules
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.4 Nature of internships

The DLHE does not collect a great level of detail about graduates' jobs. However, for graduates' 'main' job it does ask about pay, hours and whether graduates' qualification from their course was required in order to get the job. This latter measure gives some indication of whether the qualification is needed to perform the job and so provides some idea of job quality. Taken together this provides some data that can help build an idea of what sorts of experiences internships provide relative to other forms of working and employment.

6.4.1 Whether internships were paid or unpaid

Whichever definition of internships you use, self-defined or wider, a significant proportion of interns were doing unpaid work as their main activity (50 and 58 per cent respectively – Table 6.6). This is substantially higher than found in nearly all other forms of employment (except public/voluntary sector volunteers and portfolio workers). This is also a substantially higher proportion of interns working unpaid than found in other studies. For example, Mellors-Bourne and Day (2011) found that around one-third (36 per cent) of interns were working unpaid or for expenses only, while on the GI scheme just five per cent reported working unpaid (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd. and CRAC, 2011). This suggests that the issue of unpaid internships may be a broader issue than many had assumed. A more recent analysis carried out by the Sutton Trust using DLHE data for the 2012/13 graduating cohort suggested that just 31 per cent of self-defined interns were unpaid six months after finishing their course (Sutton Trust, 2014). However, from discussions with the researchers it would appear that the analysis did not take into account item non-response. A Bespoke Data Service (BDS) request for the relevant data for the 2012/13 and 2013/14 graduating cohort revealed that, after controlling for missing answers, around 45 per cent of interns from the 2012/13 cohort were unpaid at six months, while the figure was 41 per cent for the 2013/14 graduating cohort (Table 6.6). While this does appear to show that there has been a decline in the proportion of internships that were unpaid, these figures only include 'self-defined' interns and so may underestimate the full extent of unpaid internships. Either way, the proportion

that were unpaid in the more recent cohorts is still somewhat higher than previously estimated.

Table 6.6: Paid and unpaid internships (%), by graduating cohort

	2011/12*	2012/13	2013/14
Paid	50.2(41.7)	55.8	60.8
Unpaid	49.8(58.3)	44.2	39.2
Base, N	4,325(5,355)	4,900	5,280

Base: Interns in employment, *Interns with any evidence of work
Notes: Figures in parenthesis are for 'wider' definition of interns
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12, 2012/13 and 2013/14

The majority of graduates doing an internship as their main job were working on a full-time basis with 70 per cent working for 30 hours or more per week. Although they were less likely to be working full-time than those who were employed on a permanent or fixed-term basis, they were more than twice as likely to be working full-time as those doing voluntary work for a public or third sector organisation (70 per cent compared to 28 per cent – Table 6.7).

Table 10.5 and Table 10.6 show the proportion of interns that were paid or unpaid broken down by personal and study characteristics. Interns were more likely to be unpaid than on average if they were:

- Younger (61 per cent of those aged 21 or under);
- Older (67 per cent of 40 to 49 year olds, and 84 per cent of those aged 50 or older);
- From a black or minority ethnic group (between 64 and 68 per cent);
- Went to public school (62 per cent compared to 60 per cent of those who went to a state school);
- Achieved a lower degree class (67 and 73 per cent of those with a 2:2 or a 3rd, compared to 58 and 56 per cent of those with a 2:1 or a 1st respectively);
- Working in London, Wales, or outside of the EU (66, 64 and 66 per cent respectively).

Working class graduates and those from a low-participation neighbourhood were slightly less likely to be unpaid than those who might be expected to be from a more well-off background, which perhaps fits in with the suggestion that graduates from less well-off backgrounds are less able to engage in unpaid internships (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009).

Unpaid internships were also more common among: creative arts and design graduates; architecture, building and planning graduates; and biological sciences graduates (71, 65 and 67 per cent respectively). Internships in London or in a country outside the EU were also more likely to be unpaid than those in other locations (both 66 per cent unpaid compared to 58 per cent on average), perhaps reflecting industries/sectors in London and different regulations and practices for internships outside of Europe. Unpaid internships were least common in the North East, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the East Midlands (39, 41, 45 and 45 per cent respectively). EU interns were less likely than UK interns to be working unpaid (46 compared to 60 per cent), reflecting the low incidence of unpaid internships among those working in EU countries outside the UK (43 per cent) compared to those working in most UK regions/countries (apart from those listed above). The fact that first degree graduates with lower classifications of degree were more likely to be engaged in an unpaid internship than those with better grades could indicate that it may be harder for these graduates to secure paid internships and they may need to prove themselves in the jobs market by working for free for a while.

In terms of pay, occupations at the 4-digit level of SOC with substantial numbers of interns that had the highest rates of unpaid internships (Table 10.7) were as follows:

- Journalists (79 per cent);
- Clothing and textiles designers (76 per cent);
- Public Relations professionals (67 per cent);
- Media and Public Administration Researchers (67 per cent);
- NGO officers (66 per cent);
- Architectural and town planning technicians (65 per cent);
- Graphic and multimedia designers (64 per cent).

Industries at the 2-digit level SIC with the highest incidence of unpaid as opposed to paid internships (Table 10.8) included:

- (90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities (84 per cent);
- (60) Programming and broadcasting activities (81 per cent);
- (93) Sports activities and amusement and recreation activities (78 per cent);
- (59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities (76 per cent);
- (94) Activities of membership organisations (76 per cent);
- (58) Publishing activities (73 per cent);
- (91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities (73 per cent);
- (74) Other professional, scientific and technical activities (73 per cent);
- (88) Social work activities without accommodation (71 per cent);
- (82) Office administrative, office support and other business support activities (71 per cent);
- (72) Scientific research and development (70 per cent).

Interestingly, incidence of unpaid internships was lower than average among marketing professionals (50 per cent), in the advertising and market research industry (54 per cent), and interns in the financial services sector were among the least likely to be unpaid (just 27 per cent). Interns in computer programming, public health organisations, public administration, and education were also among those least likely to be unpaid (43, 42, 41 and 27 per cent respectively – Table 10.7).

The fact that unpaid, as opposed to paid, internships were more common in some sectors than others and that these tend to be in attractive occupations and sectors where competition for jobs is fierce reflects findings from previous research on internships (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). However, in nearly all of the above industries/occupations the proportion of internships that were unpaid was higher than had previously been estimated. For example, in the GTP just 63 per cent of internships in the creative and cultural industries were unpaid and just 44 per cent of media interns were unpaid (Mellors-

Bourne and Day, 2011), whereas the DLHE suggests that at six months after graduation the incidence of unpaid internships in these sectors may be higher at 84 per cent and 76 per cent respectively (see Table 10.8 for more detailed figures).

Table 6.7: Pay and hours of interns

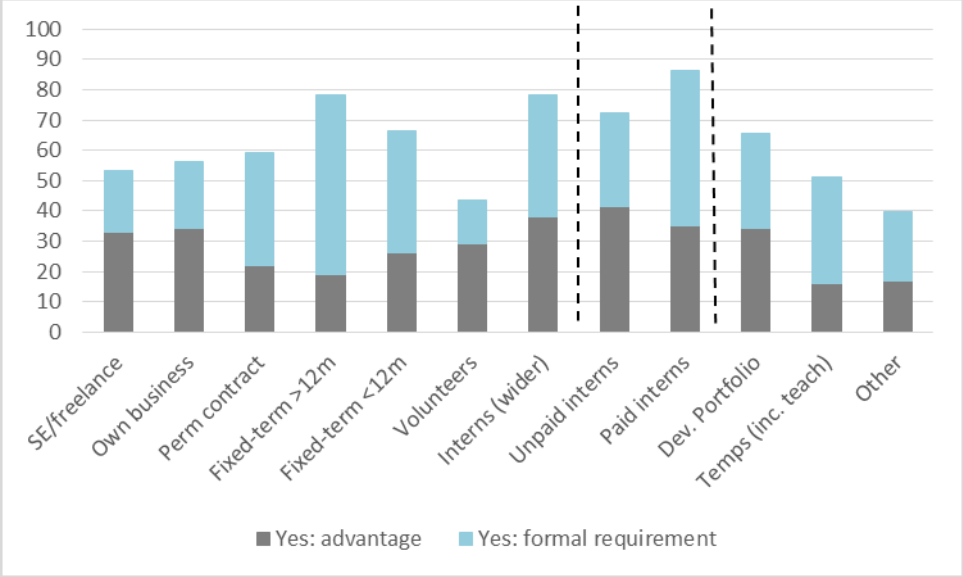
	Self-employed/freelance	Starting up own business	On a permanent or open-ended contract	On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	Voluntary work	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Interns - wide definition	On an internship (self-defined)	Devel a professional portfolio/creative practice	Temping (including supply teaching)	Other
Unpaid, %	4.9	10.0	0.1	0.2	0.9	97.3	98.4	58.3	49.8	40.2	0.9	7.1
Paid, %	95.1	90	99.9	99.8	99.1	2.7	1.6	41.7	50.2	59.8	99.1	92.9
Total, %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total, N	7,340	1,135	123,880	31,545	16,735	4,255	3,225	5,355	4,325	855	5,590	3,245
FT 30+ hours, %	62.3	76.1	83.1	87.9	76.2	29.8	27.7	69.8	77.2	53.1	55.6	51.1
PT <30 hours, %	37.7	23.9	16.9	12.1	23.8	70.2	72.3	30.2	22.8	46.9	44.4	48.9
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total, N	15,870	2,145	185,450	44,850	26,295	5,590	4,210	7,675	6,300	1,310	11,510	6,630
FT 35+ hours, %	60.5	74.2	81.7	86.9	74.6	28.8	26.7	68.7	76.1	50.9	53.3	48.7
PT <35 hours, %	39.5	25.8	18.3	13.1	25.4	71.2	73.3	31.3	23.9	49.1	46.7	51.3
Total, %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total, N	15,870	2,145	185,450	44,850	26,295	5,590	4,210	7,675	6,300	1,310	11,510	6,630

Base: All with any evidence of employment
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.4.2 Job quality and whether qualification was needed

The majority of interns (78 per cent) said that their qualification was needed for them to get their internship with 40 per cent saying it was a requirement and 38 per cent saying it was not a requirement but gave them an advantage. This is notably higher than for most other types of employment including those on open ended contracts, but broadly similar to the proportion of those on fixed term contracts of twelve months or longer (Figure 6.1). This perhaps suggests that those on longer fixed-term contracts may be more likely to be on entry level graduate jobs whilst those on open-ended contracts may be more likely to have a wider range of occupations including non-graduate type jobs that do not require a high level of qualification. Of interns, those in paid internships were more likely than those on unpaid internships to say their qualification was needed (87 compared to 72 per cent) and much more likely to say it was a requirement (51 compared to 31 per cent). For those reporting that their qualification was important, both paid and unpaid interns said that the subject and level were important. However, paid interns were more likely than unpaid interns to say the level was important (33 compared to 25 per cent) and in fact were more likely to say this than those in all other forms of employment (Table 6.8). Taken together this suggests that paid internships are more likely than unpaid internships to be of a level requiring a greater level of education and therefore, arguably, of a higher quality.

Figure 6.1: Whether recent qualification was a requirement or just an advantage, by type of employment (%)



Base: Any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 6.8: Whether needed qualification to get main job and which aspect (%)

Whether needed and which aspect	Self-employed /freelance	Own business	Perm/open-ended contract	Fixed-term (12 months or longer)	Fixed-term (less than 12 months)	Volunteers public or vol occs/inds	Interns - wide definition	Unpaid internship (wide definition)	Paid internship (wide definition)	Devel portfolio /creative practice	Temping (inc. supply teaching)	Other	Total
Yes: formal requirement	20.1	21.8	37.5	59.2	40.2	14.1	40.4	30.8	51.2	31.2	35.0	23.1	39.2
Yes: not a formal requirement but an advantage	33.1	34.4	21.8	19.1	26.3	29.3	37.9	41.4	35.3	34.4	16.0	16.7	22.7
No: the qual was not required	46.7	43.8	40.7	21.7	33.5	56.6	21.7	27.8	13.5	34.3	49.0	60.2	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base, N	13,375	1,860	161,190	38,685	23,180	3,555	6,535	2,790	2,095	1,025	10,040	5,470	264,915
- The subject(s) studied	54.5	50.2	47.1	48.1	45.8	52.8	46.2	49.4	42	49.3	41	45.5	47.3
- The level of study (PG/UG)	18.2	22.3	27.1	27.4	28.3	22	28.3	24.7	32.7	28.6	30.3	25.9	26.9
- Sandwich/work experience (gained as part of my course)	6.9	7.6	6.8	6.8	8.3	6.6	7.2	7.3	8.1	8.3	7.4	6.3	7
- No one thing was most important	20.3	20	19.1	17.7	17.6	18.6	18.3	18.6	17.2	13.8	21.3	22.3	18.8
- Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base, N*	6,175	871	88,120	28,115	14,180	1,385	4,630	1,845	1,670	602	4,600	1,935	150,610

Base: Any evidence of work
Note: *base is those reporting qualification was at least an advantage
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.5 Motivations to do an internship

The DLHE survey asks respondents to indicate why they decided to take their main job. They can indicate any number of reasons, from a list, they feel best represent their motivations for taking the job and are asked to indicate which one they feel is the main reason.

The most commonly cited motivations for taking up an internship were:

- 'To gain and broaden my experience in order to get the type of job I really want' (56 per cent);
- 'It fitted into my career plan/it was exactly the type of work I wanted' (48 per cent);
- 'To see if I would like the type of work it involved' (31 per cent).

It was this focus on broadening experience and trying out a career that distinguished the motivations of interns when compared to those in other types of employment (Table 6.9). They were also less likely than graduates in other forms of employment to cite financial reasons for undertaking an internship, such as paying off debts or because the job was well paid. These findings reflect findings from the evaluation of the GI programme, where the most commonly cited motivations revolved around getting experience, improving employability and skills, and getting a foot in the door of a particular sector and/or employer, rather than earning money (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011).

When looking at 'main' motivations, the theme of wanting to broaden experience in order to work towards a particular type of job was carried through with nearly two-fifths (39 per cent) of interns citing this as the main reason and just over a third (35 per cent) saying that it fitted in with their career plan (Table 6.10). Again it was the motivation to broaden experience, as opposed to being the exact sort of job they wanted, that distinguished interns from graduates in other forms of employment, apart from volunteers in voluntary or public sector industries/occupations who were even more likely to say that they wanted to broaden their experience. These findings fit in with the idea of internships as a way for individuals to try out a given industry or type of work and as something people do in order to access a particular

industry/profession or work towards a certain career aim (GPCF, 2011; Perlin, 2012; CIPD, 2009).

6.5.1 Pay and reasons for taking internships

When comparing reasons for taking up an internship between paid and unpaid interns the most commonly cited reasons for both groups were still:

- 'To gain and broaden my experience in order to get the type of job I really want' (58 per cent of paid and 65 per cent of unpaid interns);
- 'It fitted into my career plan/it was exactly the type of work I wanted' (58 per cent paid and 49 per cent unpaid interns);
- 'To see if I would like the type of work it involved' (38 per cent paid and 33 per cent unpaid interns).

However, paid interns were slightly more likely to say that 'it fitted in with my career plan/it was exactly the type of work I wanted' and were much more likely than unpaid interns to say: 'it was the best offer I had' (32 compared to 17 per cent); 'it was in the right locations' (31 compared to 17 per cent); it was 'to pay off debts' (23 compared to two per cent); or was 'well-paid' (twelve compared to one per cent). And when comparing 'main' reasons for taking up their internship paid interns were less likely to say that they took the job to broaden their experience (28 compared to 47 per cent of unpaid interns) and were more likely to say that it fitted in with their career plans or was exactly the sort of work they wanted (39 compared to 30 per cent of unpaid interns – Table 10.9). These findings, along with the previous finding that unpaid interns were often younger and had lower grades on average, could be seen as fitting in with the idea that unpaid internships in particular may be seen as a way of gaining experience, particularly in situations where their qualifications and experience may make it harder to access paid positions. However, combined with the findings for job quality presented in the previous section another interpretation is that paid internships were more sought after than unpaid ones, as they were more about plans and less about trying things out.

Another view of internships is that they may often be the only way for recent graduates to gain the necessary experience to access certain industries or

professions, particularly where graduates have little previous work experience (e.g. Milburn, 2009). This would perhaps imply that internships, would be the only option open to graduates wanting to work in a certain sector. Although this may be true in some cases, it is hard to confirm or refute this based on the data. Although one in five interns (20 per cent) did say that their internship 'was the best job offer that I received' and one in eight (13 per cent) said that 'it was the only job offer that I received', they were no more or less likely to say this than those in other forms of employment. When exploring this in more detail paid interns were twice as likely as unpaid interns to say that their internship was 'the best job offer' they received (32 compared to 17 per cent). However, slightly more paid interns than unpaid ones said that it was 'the only job offer' they received (17 compared to twelve per cent). Interpreting this pattern of responses is complicated by the fact that the response statements can be interpreted by respondents in contrasting ways. For example, saying it was 'the best offer' could mean that the position was a really good offer, or conversely that it was just the best of a bad bunch of offers. Similarly, saying a job was 'the only offer' could mean either it was the only option available after an extended job search, or that they were offered and accepted the first job that they went for. Either way it is hard to say with any certainty whether or not internships were taken out of a sense of necessity or were in fact a preferred option in their attempts to further their careers.

However, when taken together, this pattern of responses would seem to be consistent with the idea that internships are seen as a way to get experience, to get a foot in the door into a given industry or type of work, and are seen as a way to try out an industry or type of work (Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; CIPD, 2009). However, the fact that paid interns were more likely to say that the main reason they took their internship was that it fitted in with their career plans while unpaid interns were more likely to say it was to get experience, combined with the fact that unpaid interns were less likely to say that it was the best offer they had received would seem to suggest that perhaps unpaid internships are a second best option when it comes to getting into an industry or type of work.

Table 6.9: All reasons for taking up their main job, by employment basis (%)

Reasons for taking up job	Self-employed/freelance	Starting up own business	On a permanent or open-ended contract	On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	Internship (wide definition)	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice	Temping (including supply teaching)	Other	All in work
It fitted into my career plan/was exactly the type of work I wanted	56.8	65.1	49.5	57.8	43.2	47.7	36.3	51.2	26.9	30.8	49.2
It was the best job offer I received	13	10.9	22.7	26.6	26.2	20.2	6.5	16.6	19.4	15.2	22.4
It was the only job offer I received	6.8	4.7	9.6	11.9	16.6	12.5	7.2	8.9	15.6	11.3	10.6
It was an opportunity to progress in the organisation	9.3	12	19.4	19	16.1	20.6	14.4	18.9	9.2	10.8	17.9
To see if I would like the type of work it involved	11.5	14.2	10.9	14.4	16.8	30.6	26.8	17.5	9.7	9.8	12.7
To gain and broaden my experience in order to get the type of job I really want	22.4	21.7	19.5	24.2	32.0	55.9	61.0	41.3	26.9	20.1	23.3
It was in the right location	16.6	17.5	23.8	25.8	27.0	21.9	20.9	20.7	20.8	20.6	23.7
The job was well-paid	11.9	10.5	15.8	17.6	14.2	4.9	0.6	8.9	9.4	9.5	14.8
In order to earn a living/pay off debts	27.2	21.5	29.3	22.7	33.2	9.9	2.1	17.5	45.2	38.9	28.4
Base, N	15,870	2,145	185,450	44,850	26,295	7,675	4,210	1,310	11,510	6,630	305,945

Base: All with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 6.10: Main reason for taking up main job, by employment basis (%)

Main reason for taking job	Self-employed/freelance	Starting up own business	On a permanent or open-ended contract	On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	Interns - wide definition	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Devel a professional portfolio/creative practice	Temping (including supply teaching)	Other	All in work
It fitted into my career plan/it was exactly the type of work I wanted	55.9	63.7	45.9	54.6	35.3	34.3	23.6	44	21.5	28.4	45.0
It was the best job offer I received	4.6	3.1	8.6	8.8	9.6	5.2	1.6	3.4	9.3	7.0	8.3
It was the only job offer I received	2.9	1.9	3.9	4.2	7.4	4.5	2.9	3.0	8.3	5.9	4.4
It was an opportunity to progress in the organisation	2.4	3.5	7.5	4.9	4.1	4.7	3.7	5.4	3.0	4.3	6.2
To see if I would like the type of work it involved	2.9	3.8	2.0	2.6	3.4	7.7	8.9	3.6	2.1	2.6	2.5
To gain and broaden my experience in order to get the type of job I really want	11.5	10.6	9.0	10.8	16.7	38.9	54.3	26.1	16.2	11.9	11.8
It was in the right location	2.3	2.2	3.8	4.0	4.5	2.0	3.7	3.4	3.6	4.7	3.8
The job was well-paid	2.6	1.8	2.1	1.6	2.0	0.4	0.1	1.5	1.9	2.3	1.9
In order to earn a living/pay off debts	14.9	9.3	17.2	8.4	17.1	2.4	1.3	9.5	34	33	16.1
Base, N	13,380	1,870	160,850	38,195	23,285	6,665	3,600	1,050	10,110	5,550	264,555

Base: All with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.6 How do graduates access internships?

The DLHE also asks graduates to select from a list which answer best reflects how they found out about their main job. The most commonly cited ways that interns found out about their internships were:

- 'Personal contacts, including family and friends' (22 per cent);
- 'Your university/college (e.g. Careers Service, lecturer, website)' (18 per cent);
- 'Employer's website' (15 per cent);
- 'Recruitment agency/website' (14 per cent).

Although, they were considerably more likely to have heard about their internship through personal contacts than were graduates on a permanent or fixed-term contract of twelve months or longer (22 compared to 14 or twelve per cent respectively), they were no more likely to have found out about their job this way than were graduates working in many other forms of employment, such as temps, self-employed workers, or those on fixed-term contracts of less than twelve months (Table 10.10). In addition, they were more than twice as likely to say they had found out about their position through their university/college than were graduates in nearly all other types of employment, other than fixed-term employment of twelve months or longer and creative practice/portfolio workers. This perhaps reflects the role of HEIs in promoting internships, as evidenced by their participation in government supported schemes (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011).

However, comparing paid and unpaid internships revealed that graduates on unpaid internships were more likely to have found out about the position through personal contacts than were those on a paid internship (26 compared to 17 per cent), and much less likely to have found out about it through their university or college (nine compared to 28 per cent - Table 6.11). This may reflect the efforts of university careers services to only advertise internships that conform to minimum wage regulations in recent years, but may also support the proposition that unpaid internships may be less formal in nature than paid ones and may rely on graduates

drawing on personal and family contacts in order to access opportunities (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010; DCMS, 2008).

Interns from more privileged backgrounds were noticeably more likely to have accessed their internships through personal contacts than those from lower socio-economic groups and were less likely to have found out about opportunities through their university or college (Figure 6.2 – Panel A). Similar patterns were found for other class proxies such as the school type and neighbourhood graduates had come from, with those from low-participation neighbourhoods and state school slightly less likely to have found out about their internship through personal contacts but much more likely to have found out about opportunities through their university or college (Table 10.11). Similarly, first degree graduates with lower classifications of degree were also more likely to have used personal contacts to access internships (Table 10.12).

Exploring patterns of access by degree classification, social class and pay in more detail reveals a more complex picture (Figure 6.2). Unpaid interns were noticeably more likely to have used personal contacts to find their internship than paid interns and this was particularly true for those achieving lower grades. However, when it comes to paid internships those with lower grades were no more likely to have found their internship through contacts than those with better grades (Panel B). And whilst social class was a significant factor in interns' propensity to have found out about their internships through personal contacts in general, unpaid interns were more or less equally likely to have relied upon personal contacts regardless of class (Panel D). Whereas paid interns from intermediate and routine/manual backgrounds were much less likely to have used personal contacts to find their internships than their unpaid counterparts, managerial/professional graduates were almost as likely to use their contacts to find paid internships as they were to use them to find unpaid ones. In other words, those from more advantaged backgrounds appear to be deploying their social capital either way.

Some have suggested that unpaid internships may be less formal in nature and so are less likely to be advertised and more likely to be accessed through informal routes (e.g. Milburn, 2009). The evidence here would appear to support that claim. In addition, it would appear that graduates are relying on personal and family contacts to access unpaid internships in situations where their grades mean that it is harder to access paid opportunities through more formal routes. However, it would also seem that, in the case of paid internships, graduates from more privileged backgrounds are

using their social capital in order to access, potentially more desirable, paid opportunities.

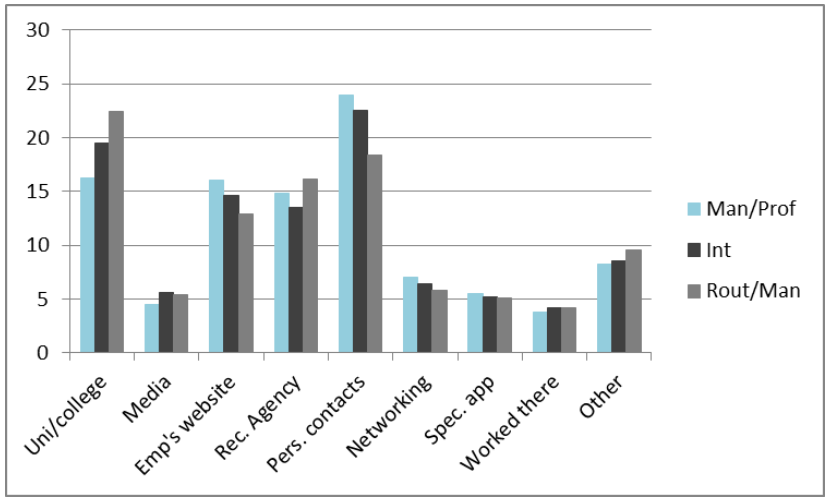
So in summary the picture that starts to emerge is one where unpaid internships tend to be accessed through less formal routes, and whereas graduates from managerial/professional backgrounds appear to be drawing on their social capital in order to access internships – particularly when they have to (e.g. because they have low grades) – those from less privileged backgrounds are less inclined or less able to do so except in cases where their grades might make it difficult to access opportunities any other way. The other picture that starts to emerge is one where those with good grades are accessing paid internships through more formal routes while those with lower grades are accessing less formal opportunities through more informal routes.

Table 6.11: How found out about internship, by whether paid or unpaid

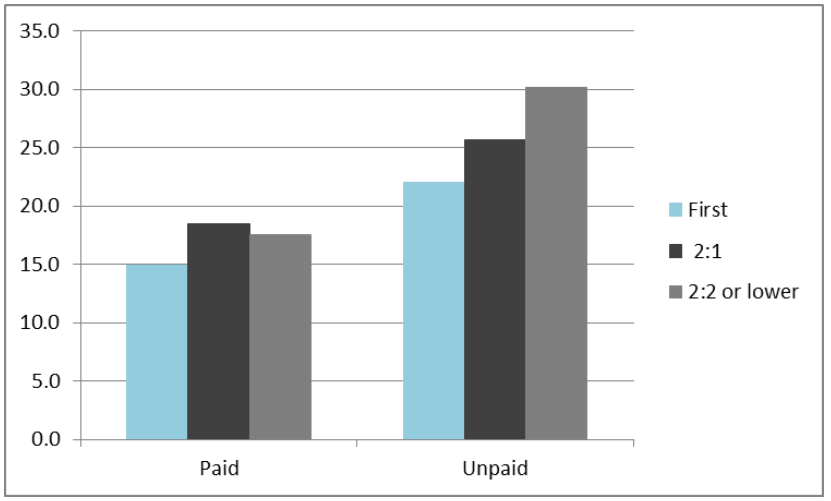
How found out about job	**Unpaid, %**	**Paid, %**	**All interns, %**
Your university/college (e.g. Careers Service, lecturer, website)	8.8	28.1	17.6
Media (e.g. newspaper/magazine advertisement)	6.2	5.5	5.4
Employer's website	15.5	14.2	15.1
Recruitment agency/website	14.3	13.3	13.9
- All formal routes	***44.8***	***61.1***	***52.0***
Personal contacts, including family and friends	26.3	16.9	22.3
Professional networking	7.6	6.9	6.8
Speculative application	7.3	4.2	5.6
- All informal routes	***41.2***	***28.0***	***34.7***
Already worked there (including on an internship)	3.4	5.2	4.4
Other	10.7	5.6	8.8
Total	100	100	100
Base, N	2,890	2,135	6,665

Base: Interns (wider definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

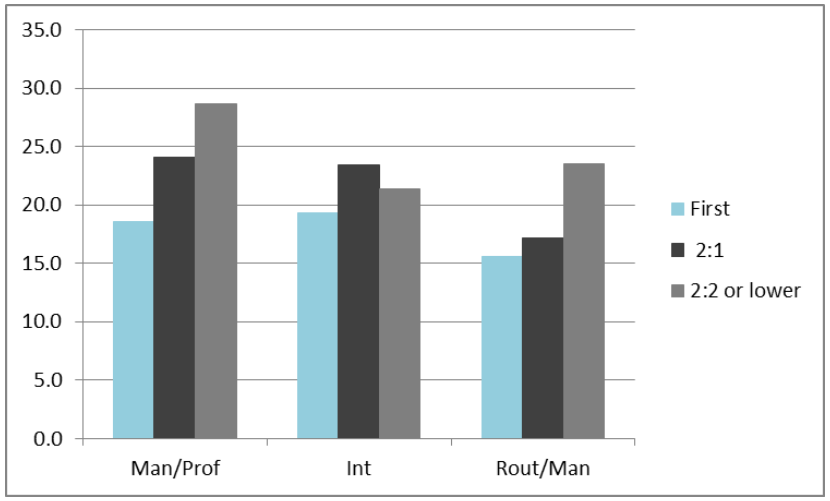
Figure 6.2: How interns found out about internships, by social class, classification of degree, and pay



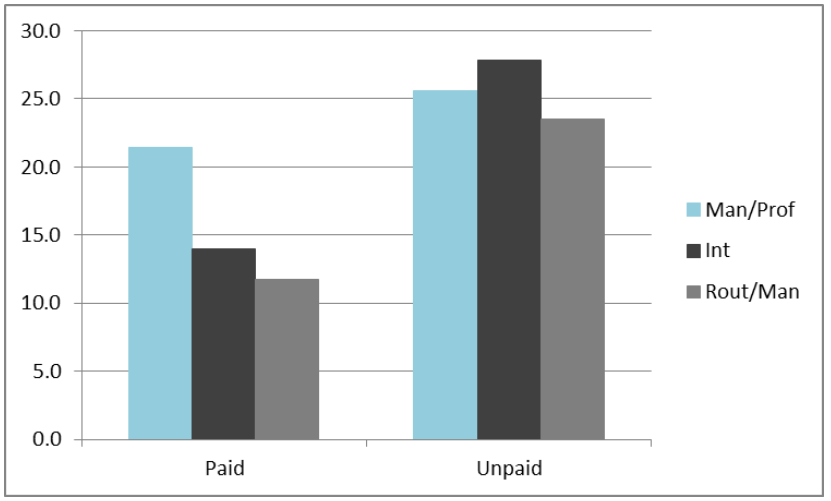
Panel A – How found out about internship (%), by social class



Panel B – Personal contacts (%), by pay and classification of degree



Panel C – Personal contacts (%), by social class and degree class



Panel D – Personal contacts (%), by pay and social class

Base: Interns (wider definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.7 How do graduates manage on internships?

6.7.1 Additional jobs

For the vast majority of interns their internship was the only job that they had, with only ten per cent having an additional job. Although they were more than three times as likely to have an additional job as those on a permanent or a fixed-term contract of twelve months or longer, they were less likely to have an additional job than those who were self-employed, starting their own business, or developing a professional portfolio (Table 10.13). As might be expected interns whose internship was part-time were much more likely to have an additional job than full-time interns (19 compared to six per cent). However, this still means that one in twenty interns that were full-time had at least one additional job.

As might also be expected, unpaid interns were much more likely to be working part-time than paid interns (44 compared to twelve per cent). They were also more likely to have an additional job than paid interns (14 compared to nine per cent), perhaps reflecting a greater need to gain an additional income. This still leaves a significant proportion of unpaid interns without an additional job, which raises questions as to how these graduates are supporting themselves financially. However, as indicated earlier, the majority of interns were from managerial/professional, or intermediate backgrounds (61 and 20 per cent respectively), and participation in unpaid internships was also found to be higher than average in these groups, perhaps suggesting that many unpaid interns might be relying on family to support them through their internship.

Groups of interns who were marginally more likely to have an additional job than on average were:

- Women (twelve per cent compared to eight per cent of men);
- Those aged under 22, or aged 50 or over (twelve and eleven per cent respectively compared to between seven and ten per cent for other age groups);

- Graduates who studied biological sciences, or creative arts and design subjects (both 14 per cent);
- From routine/manual backgrounds (13 per cent compared to ten per cent of managerial/professional and eleven per cent of intermediate graduates).

Graduates domiciled elsewhere in the EU were much less likely to have an additional job than UK graduates (six per cent compared to eleven per cent), and it is noteworthy that unpaid internships were much less common among EU graduates and those working in the EU.

It may be worth noting that some of these groups, such as those who were younger, older, from the EU or those who had studied creative arts and design, were also the same groups that were more likely than on average to be doing unpaid as opposed to paid internships. However, whereas graduates from a managerial/professional background were more likely to be doing an unpaid internship than those from a routine/manual background it was the latter group who were more likely to have an additional job, perhaps indicating that they might be less able to rely on help from their family whilst working in an internship. It is interesting to note that additional jobs were more common among interns who had studied subjects related to creative arts and design, as previous research has suggested that portfolio working and working in multiple jobs is relatively commonplace amongst graduates from these subjects (e.g. Ball et al., 2010).

6.7.2 **Earnings of paid interns**

Across all interns mean income from internships was £5,613 with a mean total income or £5,966 from all sources. However, as noted above, more than half of interns were unpaid in their main job/internship. Paid interns earned £13,460 on average from their internship. For unpaid interns who had at least one additional job, average income from all sources was £2,842, showing that while some are supplementing their income through additional jobs or other sources, they may be facing significant financial hardship (Table 10.14 and Figure 6.3). Interestingly, among paid interns, those with just the one job/internship tended to earn more on average than those with additional jobs, earning just over £13,800 compared to just £12,085 from all sources for those with at least one additional job (£9,757 of which

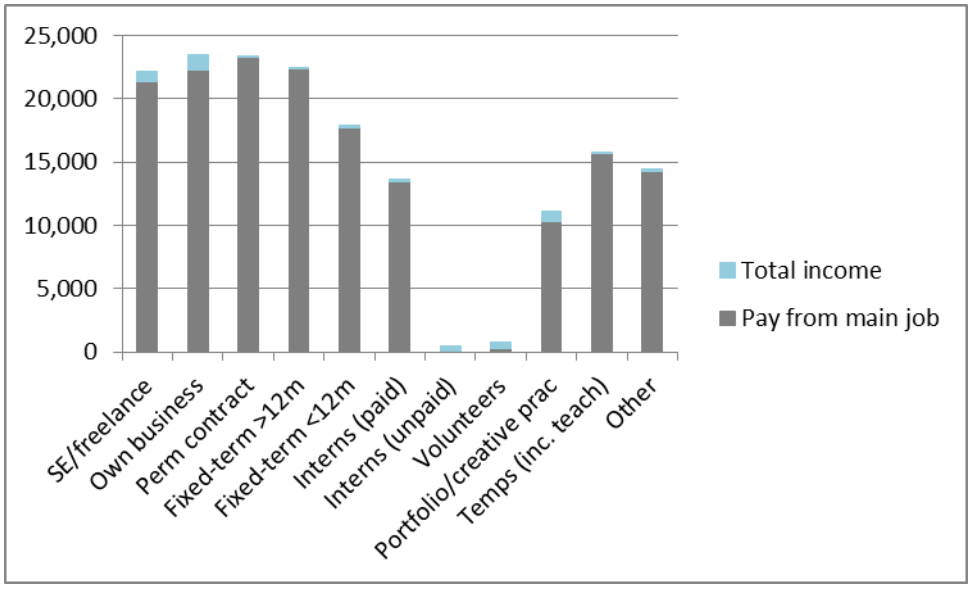
came from their main job/internship). This perhaps suggests that better paid interns were able to focus on just the one job whereas part-time interns, or those with lower hourly wages, needed to supplement their income with additional work.

Although paid interns may have been better off financially than unpaid ones they still earned less on average than workers in almost all other types of employment, except for volunteers in the third sector or government bodies and graduates who were 'developing a professional portfolio/creative practice'. It is perhaps unsurprising that paid interns should earn more than true voluntary and portfolio workers, as by definition volunteers do not on the whole expect to be paid and there are some suggestions that it may take some time for graduates' creative practice or portfolio work to pay off (Ball et al., 2010). However, this finding does support the assertion that internships tend to be less well paid than other kinds of employment that graduates might engage in (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

The earnings of paid interns did not vary substantially between those from different socio-economic backgrounds, or for those with different classifications of degree. However, there was some variation in income levels for graduates of different subjects, with graduates from qualifications in engineering, mathematics, subjects allied to medicine, and social studies earning the most on average (between £15,000 and £18,700), and those who studied creative arts and design, languages and related subjects, and biological sciences earning the least on average (between £10,400 and £11,900). Paid interns from the remaining subject areas earned between £12,000 and £14,000 on average (Figure 6.4).

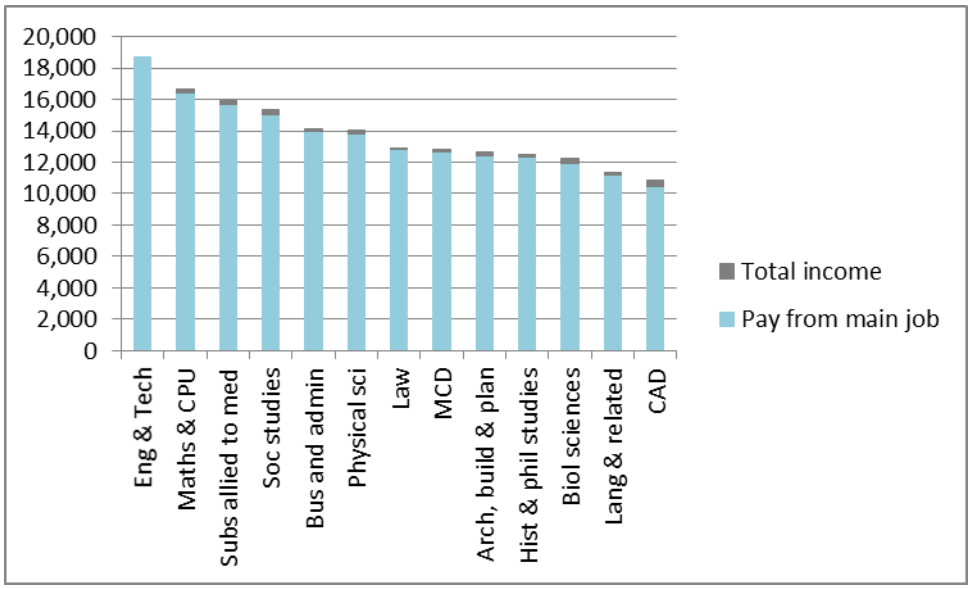
Caution should be taken when making assumptions about how well paid internships were, though, as the figures respondents gave for pay and overall income do not take into account hours worked. However, the average incomes quoted here for paid internships do appear to be somewhere between what might be expected from someone earning National Minimum wage (£6.19 per hour on the census date of the survey) and the living wage (£8.80 per hour in London and £7.65 elsewhere). The NMW would equate to a before tax income of £11,909 a year for those working 37 hours a week and £9,656 for those working 30 hours per week. The living wage would be between £11,934 for someone working 30 hours per week outside London and £16,931 for someone working 37 hours per week in London.

Figure 6.3: Pay from main job and total income, by employment type



Base: All with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Figure 6.4: Paid interns pay from main job and total income, by subject studied



Base: Paid interns (wide definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

6.8 Conclusions

This chapter has explored what the DLHE can tell us about the practice of internships, particularly in relation to the following questions:

- How many graduates do internships early on in their careers?
- What sorts of graduates do internships (profile of interns, most/least likely)?
- What is the nature of internships (pay, hours, quality, industry, occupations)?
- Why do interns do internships?
- How do graduates find out about and access internships?
- How do graduates manage on internships (e.g. any additional jobs and/or earnings)?

In answer to these questions, the findings suggest the following.

Firstly, although internships are by no means ubiquitous, participation in the practice among graduates is still significant with at least 7,675 graduates engaging in internships at six months after graduation, representing 1 in 40, or 2.5 per cent of those in work at this point. In addition, internships are particularly common among graduates from particular subject areas and those working in certain industries and occupations that reflect these subject areas. The subject areas and industries where internships are most common are those related to the media, PR and advertising, creative arts and design, languages and interpretation, national and transnational not-for-profit organisations, fashion, textiles and wearing apparel, libraries and cultural heritage, and business and financial consultancy activities. It is noteworthy that these are often the subject areas and industries/occupations that have often been linked with the growing practice of internships in the literature (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Ball, et al., 2010).

Secondly, although DLHE data cannot tell us the full picture in terms of internships overall, at six months after graduation, graduate interns are disproportionately young and tend to be from more privileged backgrounds. The majority are from managerial/professional backgrounds, from average or higher participation neighbourhoods, and were disproportionately likely to have been to public school. Educational credentials also appear to make a difference, with those from Russell

Group and 1994 Group universities and those with better grades tending to be more likely to be doing an internship. Domicile was also found to be associated with participation in internships with graduates from London or the EU most likely to engage in internships. Although the majority of interns were white, in contrast to previous studies (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011) graduates from black and minority ethnic backgrounds were more likely to engage in internships than white graduates. However, this may well be partially related to region of domicile with many graduates from black and minority ethnic backgrounds coming from regions with a high incidence of internships, such as London.

Thirdly, despite some previous studies suggesting that only a minority of interns are unpaid (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011), this analysis suggests otherwise, with at least half of those doing an internship as their main activity at six months reporting that it was unpaid. Although on the one hand this is just a snapshot of internships at an early stage in graduates' careers, and later opportunities may be more likely to attract a wage, on the other hand this may be an underestimate of the proportion of unpaid internships at six months. This is because it only includes internships considered by graduates to be their 'main' activity and one might expect any internships done as a secondary activity to be more likely than not to be unpaid. Internships tended to be full-time activities for most interns who reported an internship as their main job. Unpaid internships were much more likely to be part-time than paid internships, although the majority of unpaid internships were still full-time. Those most likely to be doing unpaid internships as opposed to paid ones were: young (aged 21 or under), older (aged 40 or older), from a more privileged background, school or neighbourhood, were from a black or minority ethnic group, and/or have achieved a lower class degree. Internships were noticeably more likely to be unpaid if they were in London, Wales, or outside of the EU, and were more common amongst those working in creative and cultural industries, the media, sports and recreational activities, fashion, PR, NGOs, journalism, graphic design, and media/public administration research (and amongst graduates from subjects reflecting these industries/occupations).

Perhaps unsurprisingly interns tended to say that they had decided to take up their internship in order to get some experience, to try out the kind of work it involved, and/or because it fitted in with their career plans. And it was this sense of getting some experience and trying something out that distinguished interns from those who

had gone straight into a permanent job. However, among interns there were some differences between paid and unpaid interns in terms of their motivations for taking up their internship, with paid interns relatively more likely than unpaid ones to say it fitted in with career plans, was the best offer they received, and that they liked the location and/or it was well paid, whilst unpaid interns were more likely to say their main motivation was to get experience. This pattern of findings is consistent with the idea of internships as being a way for graduates to gain experience, to get a foot in the door to a particular industry or profession, and as a way to try out an industry or type of work (Perlin, 2012; Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2009).

Interns were most likely to find out about their internships through personal contacts, their university, an employer's website or a recruitment agency (in that order). One view of internships is that they are often accessed through personal or family contacts (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009), and while it is true that many do access internships this way, in this respect, they were not substantially different from graduates in other types of employment. However, comparing paid and unpaid internships reveals that unpaid interns were much more likely than paid interns to have found out about their internship through personal or family contacts and much less likely to have found out about it through their university. Those from more privileged backgrounds were more likely to have used personal contacts, as were those with poorer grades, and when exploring the patterns of access in relation to pay, socio-economic group and achieved grades in more detail it would appear that graduates were using personal contacts to access internships in cases where they were able to (e.g. because they had the social capital) or where they had to (e.g. because their grades might make it harder to access opportunities any other way).

Finally, for the majority of interns their internship was the only job they were engaged in, although a small minority of interns appear to be supplementing low (or no) pay with an additional job. As mentioned previously more than half of interns were unpaid. Graduates who were in paid internships tended to earn less on average than those in most other forms of employment, except volunteers and those who were building a professional portfolio or their own creative practice. Although, it is difficult to say exactly how well remunerated paid interns were, mean income of paid interns tended to be more or less in line with what you might expect from someone earning between NMW and the voluntary living wage. Income varied for paid interns in different disciplines/industries with those from qualifications in engineering, maths, subjects allied to medicine and social studies earning the most (nearer the living

wage), while those who studied creative arts and design, languages and biological sciences earning the least (closer to the NMW).

Taken together these findings would seem to fit in with a general picture of a two tier type system of internships with paid opportunities tending to be accessed by those with the best qualifications through more formal routes, or through less formal routes by those with the right contacts, whilst unpaid internships tend to be accessed through less formal routes by those who can afford to and those with perhaps little other option. There was also some evidence of differences in job quality between paid and unpaid internships, with graduates' qualification from their course being more likely to be a requirement (as opposed to just an advantage) for paid internships. Also, whilst the former tend to be more common in some sectors/disciplines the latter tend to predominate in industries/disciplines where concern about the growth of unpaid internships and issues of access have been the most acute (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013). The findings also seem to support the notion that graduates from perhaps more privileged backgrounds may be more able to access and engage in internships, and particularly unpaid ones, and that many of these latter opportunities are in industries and professions that wield the most influence, such as the media, journalism and creative industries (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009).

7 The Creative Graduates' Careers Survey (CGCS)

A review of the literature has shown that graduate internships can be viewed within the overlapping frameworks of employability and career development on the one hand, and as a potential mechanism of socio-economic reproduction on the other (chapter four). The 'dual view' of internships sees them, on the one hand, as a way to develop one's employability and career, and an essential 'rite of passage' while they are also seen as potential exploitation and free labour, undermining the wages of existing workers and acting to exclude aspirants from less privileged backgrounds from accessing key professions and industries (CIPD, 2009, 2010b; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Milburn, 2009).

The analysis of DLHE data presented in chapter six goes some way to examining the validity of these claims revealing that the practice is indeed more common in sectors implicated in the literature and that unpaid internships are more common than previously thought, particularly in those sectors. Sectors that might be seen as particularly desirable and competitive. The findings also show that the motivations of interns fit in with the idea that internships are seen as a way to gain experience and work towards a particular career or industry and as a way to try things out. However, the findings also reveal differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of motivations, quality and access routes. Paid internships were more likely to fit in with career plans, to be accessed through formal routes and more likely to be at a level that required a higher level qualification. In addition, there was evidence of differential patterns of participation in internships in general, and unpaid internships in particular, with interns tending to be younger, from more privileged backgrounds, and to have more desirable credentials.

However, the picture presented in chapter six is only the story very early on in graduates' careers (i.e. at six months after graduation) and so is unable to tell us

about internships after this point or about the potential outcomes. Therefore, in order to build on the data provided by DLHE a bespoke quantitative survey was devised in order to provide richer and more detailed data on the early career experiences of graduates, and in particular enabled examination of:

1) Engagement in internships after six months including reflections on internships and perceived developmental benefits;
2) Factors related to differential patterns of participation;
3) Potential labour market outcomes.

This chapter examines these areas by reporting the findings of a quantitative survey of the early career experiences of graduates from CAD, and MCD subjects (two subject areas with high participation rates in internships linked to key sectors that have been highlighted in the literature). The analysis investigates broad patterns in the data using bivariate analyses and then uses multivariate techniques when looking at participation and outcomes in order to unpick the unique contributions of different variables while controlling for other variables in the analysis. This is necessary in non-experimental studies in order to minimise the chances of making spurious inferences about bivariate relationships, control for confounding variables and explain the unique contributions of individual factors (Bohrnstedt and Knoke, 1994; Bryman, 2016).

7.1 The survey

As detailed in chapter five, the CGCS was a bespoke sample survey of CAD and MCD graduates from twelve HEIs from around the UK with significant provision in these subject areas. Participating institutions represented a relatively good geographical spread, broadly reflecting CAD and MCD provision in the UK. Details about the survey methodology and fieldwork are reported in chapter five. The aim of the survey was to achieve a generalisable sample of graduates from subject areas where internships are relatively commonplace and where they are increasingly seen as a key route to careers within the sector, in order to obtain data that would enable comparison of the relative experiences and employment outcomes of interns and non-interns. The questionnaire covered six main topic areas: course details and

eligibility, current and previous work situation, further details of up to three current jobs, perceived benefits of internships and different forms of employment, satisfaction with current career situation, and personal characteristics.

7.2 Sample profile and representativeness

The sample profile of respondents, as well as the relevant population data can be seen in chapter five (Table 5.4 and Table 5.5). In terms of personal characteristics the sample profile was as follows:

- Two thirds (66 per cent) of respondents were female (broadly reflecting the subject areas covered by the survey);
- Three-in-ten (30 per cent) were under 25, and 54 per cent were aged between 25 and 29 years old;
- The majority were white or white British (93 per cent);
- The majority (89 per cent) reported being 'home/UK' domiciled students;
- There was a broad spread of region of domicile, although the most commonly cited regions were: South East and South West England, East Anglia, and Wales;
- Nearly half (45 per cent) reported having at least one parent who had attended Higher Education.

In terms of **study characteristics**, the sample:

- Reflected a broad geographical spread of institutions (reflecting the HEIs taking part in the survey – although see below regarding sample representativeness);
- 83 per cent studied a CAD subject, and 18 per cent studied a MCD subject (with only a few respondents studying both – one per cent);
- Largely comprised graduates with higher classifications of degree with 78 per cent achieving a 2:1 or above;

- Consisted of graduates from all three cohorts covered in the survey although, as might be expected, response was slightly higher from those graduating more recently.

As discussed in chapter five, the sample was broadly representative in terms of: sex, age, ethnicity, domicile and subject area of study. However, compared to the wider population there was a slight overrepresentation of graduates awarded first class degrees, and of graduates qualifying in the 2011/12 academic year. While there is still a reasonable representation of graduates from earlier cohorts, and those with lower classifications of degree, it is worth noting these differences when looking at aggregate figures for the labour market outcomes of graduates. It is also worth noting that, although there was a broad geographical spread of HEIs taking part in the survey, there is a slight overrepresentation of graduates who studied in Wales and Scotland, and a slight underrepresentation of those who studied in London or the North of England. However, as noted in chapter five, these relatively small biases in the sample are less of a concern when looking at the relative contribution of different variables when controlling for other factors using multivariate analysis techniques.

7.3 Extent of internships and perceived usefulness

As noted in chapter two, despite the attention internships have received in the literature, and in the media, there remains no reliable account of the true extent of the practice. The DLHE analysis showed that at six months after graduation around five per cent of CAD and MCD grads in employment were doing internships. By two to six years after graduation, one quarter of CGCS respondents reported having participated in an internship at some point since finishing their first degree (Table 7.1). Of those reporting an internship, nearly half (46 per cent) had done more than one and two-thirds had experience of at least one unpaid internship. This fits in with findings from the DLHE analysis where 71 per cent of CAD and 62 per cent of MCD graduates engaged in an internship at six months were unpaid (Table 10.6). More than one-quarter of those reporting an internship had two or more unpaid internships since graduating. The vast majority (92 per cent) of those reporting an internship felt

that their internship/s had been at least quite useful in the development of their career so far, with 61 per cent indicating that they had been very useful.

For graduates who reported doing an internship since graduation it was possible to identify those who had only engaged in paid internships (34 per cent), had only engaged in unpaid internships (50 per cent), or had engaged in both paid and unpaid internships (16 per cent). Using this data it was then possible to explore whether those who had experience of only paid or unpaid internships were any more or less likely to say that they were useful in the development of their careers to date (Table 7.2). Using a Chi-square test of independence and z-tests to compare column proportions, a significant association was found between internship experience (paid vs unpaid) and self-reported usefulness (χ^2= 9.126, df= 2, p= .010) with those who had only had unpaid internships being significantly less likely to answer that they had been 'very useful' in the development of their career so far (51 per cent compared to 70 per cent, p<.05). However, caution should be taken when comparing the perceptions of naturally occurring groups as we cannot be certain that the difference in perceived usefulness is due to actual differences in the nature of paid and unpaid internships or due to differences in the characteristics of the two groups or different response styles.

Only two per cent of respondents were still engaged in an internship at the time of the survey. The number still engaged in internships was too small to allow further analysis of current internships.

Table 7.1: Extent of participation in internships and perceived usefulness

		%
Whether has engaged in an internship since graduating	Yes	24.8
	No	75.2
	Total, N	616
Whether is doing an internship currently	Yes	2.4
	No	97.6
	Total, N	614
Total number of internships (paid/unpaid)*	1	53.6
	2	24.2
	3	12.4
	4+	9.8
	Total, N	153
Number of internships that were unpaid*	0	34.0
	1	37.9
	2	14.4
	3	7.2
	4+	6.5
	Total, N	153
Overall, how useful have your internship/s been in the development of your career so far?*	Not at all useful	7.7
	Quite useful	31
	Very useful	61.3
	Total, N	142

Base: All respondents (N= 616)
Those who have engaged in an internship since graduating (N= 153)

Table 7.2: Perceived usefulness of paid and unpaid internships

Overall, how useful have these internships been to the development of your career so far?	Paid internships only, %	Paid and unpaid internships, %	Unpaid internships only, %
Not at all useful	0.0	-	15.1
Quite useful	29.8	-	34.2
Very useful	70.2	-	50.7
Total	100	100	100
N	47	22	73

Base: Those who have engaged in an internship since graduation (N= 142)

7.4 Perceived skills and career development

Internships are believed to be a good way for labour market entrants to develop industry-specific knowledge and skills, gain valuable experience and ultimately benefit their overall career opportunities (CIPD, 2009, 2015a; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). This section explores how CAD and MCD graduates perceive the relative benefits of internships and other types of employment in terms of skill and career development. While it is recognised that the concept of skill is not unproblematic, as noted in chapter two, the intention here was simply to get a sense of the extent to which graduates saw internships as good for development relative to other forms of employment.

Graduates were asked to rate how well they believed different types of employment or working developed each of a number of career-related attributes: industry-specific knowledge and skills; professional networks; general career development; and ability to be creative or develop their own ideas. The different types of working/employment they were asked to rate were: permanent employment (in their chosen sector); self-employment; their own creative work/developing a professional portfolio; paid internships and unpaid internships.

Repeated measures ANOVA analyses were used in order to see whether graduates' ratings for different employment types differed on each of the four areas of development. In all four cases statistically significant differences were found between graduates' ratings of the extent to which the different forms of employment help develop different career-related attributes, as follows[1]:

- For developing industry-specific skills and knowledge[2]:
    - Permanent job was rated higher than all other forms of employment;
    - Paid internships were rated higher than unpaid internships;

[1] All reported differences were found to be significant at the α= .05 level of significance using ANOVA with Bonferroni post hoc tests.

[2] Mauchly's tests of sphericity indicated that sphericity could not be assumed in all four areas of development (p< .05). In the case of industry-specific skills and knowledge and general career development a Huynh-Feldt correction was used and in the case of developing professional networks and ability to be creative a Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used.

  - Unpaid internships were rated lower than all other forms of employment;
  - Self-employment was rated lower than permanent employment but higher than unpaid internships;
  - Developing a professional portfolio was rated lower than permanent employment but higher than unpaid internships.

- For developing professional networks:
  - Permanent job was rated higher than all other forms of employment;
  - Paid internships were rated higher than all other forms of employment but lower than a permanent job;
  - Unpaid internships were rated lower than all other forms of employment except portfolio working;
  - Self-employment was rated lower than permanent employment and paid internships, but higher than unpaid internships and portfolio working;
  - Developing a professional portfolio was rated lower than all types of employment except unpaid internships.

- For developing one's career:
  - Permanent job was rated higher than all other forms of employment;
  - Paid internships were rated higher than all other forms of employment, but lower than a permanent job;
  - Unpaid internships were rated lower than all other forms of employment;
  - Self-employment was rated lower than permanent employment and paid internships, but higher than unpaid internships;
  - Self-employment was rated lower than permanent employment and paid internships, but higher than unpaid internships.

- For allowing you the ability to be creative/try out your own ideas:

- Permanent employment was rated higher than paid and unpaid internships, but lower than self-employment and developing a portfolio;
- Paid internships were rated higher than unpaid internships, but lower than all other forms of employment. Unpaid internships were rated lower than all other forms of employment;
- Self-employment was rated lower than developing a professional portfolio, but higher than all other types of employment;
- Developing a professional portfolio was rated higher than all other forms of employment listed.

Mean ratings for each type of employment on each of the four areas of development can be seen in Figure 7.1 and Table 7.3. Although on average paid internships were rated quite highly for developing skills and knowledge, developing networks, and developing one's career, unpaid internships were not rated so highly on average and were rated lower than all other types of employment covered on nearly all aspects of development (except for portfolio working for developing networks). And looking at the actual scores, although unpaid internships generally received an average rating of three out of five on most aspects of development, paid internships clearly are perceived to be better for development than unpaid ones.

Figure 7.1: Mean ratings for each employment type for each area of development

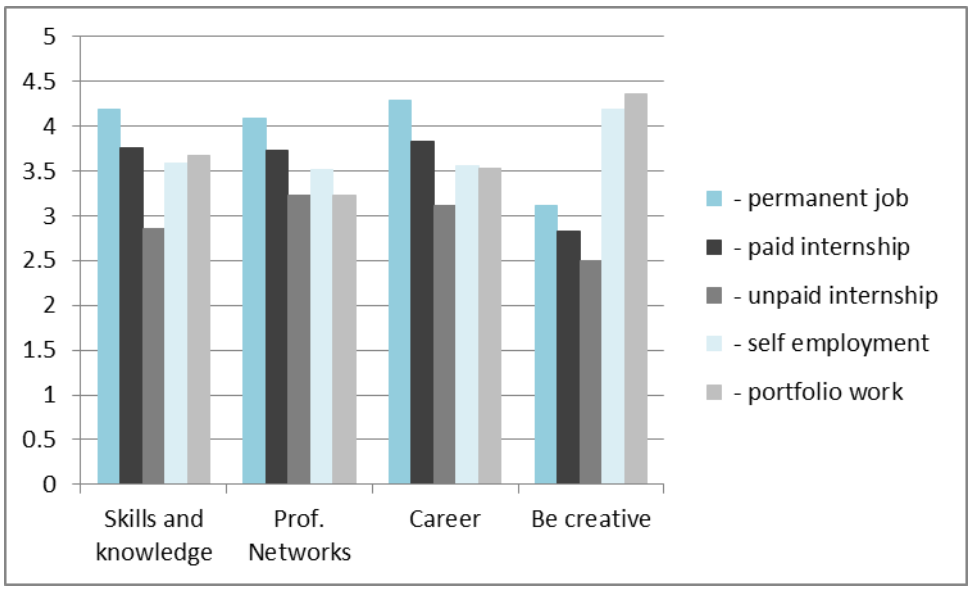


Table 7.3: Mean ratings for each employment type for each area of development.

How do you rate the following for…	Mean Score*	S.d.	N
Industry-specific skills and knowledge: [F(3.4, 1995.7)= 136.36, p< .0005]			
- permanent job	4.19	1.04	589
- paid internship	3.76	1.19	589
- unpaid internship	2.85	1.24	589
- self employment	3.58	1.15	589
- portfolio work	3.67	1.17	589
Developing professional networks: [F(2.9, 1731.2)= 74.24, p< .0005]			
- permanent job	4.09	1.06	595
- paid internship	3.73	1.18	595
- unpaid internship	3.23	1.31	595
- self employment	3.52	1.28	595
- portfolio work	3.23	1.34	595
Developing your career: [F(3.2, 1878.4)= 114.16, p< .0005]			
- permanent job	4.28	1.05	593
- paid internship	3.83	1.18	593
- unpaid internship	3.11	1.30	593
- self employment	3.56	1.18	593
- portfolio work	3.53	1.23	593
Allowing you to be creative/develop your own ideas: [F(2.6, 1552.1)= 467.38, p< .0005]			
- permanent job	3.11	1.23	588
- paid internship	2.82	1.19	588
- unpaid internship	2.49	1.22	588
- self employment	4.19	1.05	588
- portfolio work	4.36	1.08	588

Base: All respondents
Notes: *scored on a scale of 1 to 5

Taken together, the findings for the perceived usefulness and developmental benefits of graduate internships suggest clear differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of perceived development. In addition, while both paid and unpaid internships tend to be rated as useful and are felt to have developmental benefits, it is notable that permanent employment is still perceived as preferable in terms of most aspects of career development rated here, although self-employment and portfolio work are generally felt to be the best for allowing creativity and the

ability to develop one's own ideas. Crucially, though unpaid internships were rated lowest on nearly all four areas.

7.5 Participation in internships and social mobility

Much of the literature on internships has argued that graduate internships are instrumental in the development of graduate careers, particularly in certain sectors and professions (Milburn, 2009: CIPD, 2010b). The literature further suggests that some groups of individuals are more likely to participate in internships than others with some being potentially excluded, particularly in the case of unpaid internships (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). However, the analysis presented so far in this chapter has shown that although internships in general are perceived as being useful in the development of graduates' careers and in developing skills, networks and career more generally, it appears that paid internships are seen as more beneficial than unpaid ones. Therefore, this section differentiates between paid and unpaid internships when looking at patterns of participation in order to identify any potential disadvantage in access to the best opportunities. The section, first explores patterns of participation at the bivariate level before going on to explore which groups of individuals are more or less likely to participate in paid and unpaid internships whilst controlling for other characteristics using multivariate analysis.

7.5.1 Bivariate patterns of participation

Participation rates in paid and unpaid internships can be seen in Table 7.4. Bivariate associations between participation rates and different personal and study characteristics were explored using Pearson Chi-squared tests of association and z-tests of column proportions. Bivariate associations were found for the following factors[1]:

[1] All reported differences were found to be significant at the α= .05 level of significance.

- Cohort – with graduates finishing during the 2011/12 academic year being more likely to have engaged in a paid internship than other cohorts;
- Classification of degree – with those graduating with a 2:2 or below being less likely to have done an internship in general and unpaid internships in particular;
- Region of domicile – with graduates from Scotland being more likely to have done an internship than those from Wales;
- Parental experience of HE – with those with a parent who went to university/polytechnic being more likely to have done an internship in general and paid internships in particular;
- Work placement experience – with those having done a work placement whilst at university being more likely to have done a graduate internship, particularly unpaid.

In addition, age at graduation and league table score[1] were found to be significantly related to participation in internships at the bivariate level using one-way ANOVA, with those with no experience of graduate internships tending to be older on average than those who had done an internship ($F(2, 182.31)= 16.832$, $p< .0005$)[2] and graduates with experience of paid or unpaid internships being more likely to have studied at higher scoring HEIs ($F(2, 613)= 15.654$, $p< .0005$).

[1] Age at graduation was used rather than age at the time of survey to account for the fact that three cohorts were surveyed, thus removing any potential confounding effects of age and cohort. League table score might be seen as a measure of the reputational value attached to different HEIs and was computed by compiling and averaging the most recent data available for the relevant subject areas for each participating HEI from the Complete University Guide and the Guardian's University Guide.

[2] For age at graduation a Levene's test showed that homogeneity of variance could not be assumed ($p< .0005$). Therefore, a Welch Test (Welch, 1951) was used for the ANOVA and Hochberg's GT2 was used for post hoc testing ($\alpha= .05$).

Table 7.4: Bivariate patterns of participation in paid and unpaid internships

	Previous internship experience, %					
	No internships	**Paid only**	**Paid and unpaid**	**Unpaid only**	**Total, %**	**Total, N**
Gender						
Female	73.6	7.4	4.9	14	100	406
Male	78	10.5	1.9	9.6	100	209
Cohort						
2007/08	77.3	3.3	5.3	14	100	150
2009/10	74.8	6.7	3.1	15.3	100	163
2011/12 (or after)	74.3	11.9	3.6	10.2	100	303
Broad ethnic group						
White	75.9	8.6	3.5	12	100	573
Black and minority ethnic group	64.1	7.7	10.3	17.9	100	39
Broad subject area of study						
Creative arts and design	74.7	8.6	3.2	13.5	100	502
Mass communications and documentation	76	8	8	8	100	100
Degree classification						
First	67.9	11.9	3	17.3	100	168
2:1	73.7	8.3	5.4	12.7	100	315
2:2/Third/pass/unclassified	88	4.5	1.5	6	100	133
Region of domicile						
Mid/East	74.6	8.5	0.7	16.2	100	142
NW/NE/Y+H	68.3	12.2	6.1	13.4	100	82
Greater London	73.2	2.4	4.9	19.5	100	41
SW/SE	78.6	6.4	3.5	11.6	100	173
Scotland/NI/Islands	62.9	20	8.6	8.6	100	35
Wales	86.7	1.7	5.0	6.7	100	60
EU/overseas	72.5	11.6	5.8	10.1	100	69
Parental experience of HE						
Parents did not study at HE	80.5	5.9	2.9	10.6	100	339
Parent studied at HE	68.5	11.6	5.1	14.9	100	276
Whether completed a work placement whilst at uni						
No	81.2	6.9	2.8	9	100	389
Yes	64.6	11.1	5.8	18.6	100	226
All respondents	75.2	8.4	3.9	12.5	100	616
	No internships	**Paid internship (inc. some with unpaid)**		**Unpaid only**		**All graduates**
Mean Age at graduation (SE)	25.4(0.38)	23.4(0.86)		22.6(0.28)		24.8(0.31)
Mean League Table score (SE)	71.8(0.28)	75.1(0.72)		74.9(0.73)		72.6(0.25)
Total, N	463	76		77		616

Base: All respondents (N= 616)

In summary, the bivariate analysis suggests that those with internship experience were more likely than on average to be younger, to have a 2:1 or above, to be from a higher scoring HEI, to have a parent that went to university, or to have completed a work placement whilst studying. Furthermore, those with higher grades or who had completed a work placement were more likely to have done an unpaid internship than on average, and those who graduated in 2011/12 or who had a parent that went to university or polytechnic were relatively more likely to have done a paid internship than on average. Combined with the figures from more recent rounds of the DLHE (Table 6.6), this latter finding may suggest that we have passed the peak in the practice of unpaid internships. However, further analysis of more recent data would be needed to confirm this.

To some extent these patterns fit in with previous findings from research where graduates with higher grades or from more prestigious institutions tended to be more successful in securing internships (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011), and also mirrors the findings from the analysis of DLHE data presented in chapter six where social class, grades and geography were all found to be related to participation in internships. The fact that among CGCS respondents Scottish graduates, and not those from London and the South East of England, were more likely to have done an internship is perhaps surprising and may have more to do with variation among HEIs in the sample rather than wider patterns of participation. However, taken together it would appear that geography and institutional differences are likely to play their part. The fact that those who had previously completed a work placement while at university were more likely than those who had not done one to have also completed an internship is interesting, as one might question whether there is a need for them to gain further employment experience. However, this finding might be seen as fitting in with studies that have shown how those who are able to use whatever means is available to them to position themselves above their peers, including engaging in work placements, extracurricular activities and internships (Bathmaker et al., 2013; Tomlinson, 2008; Brown et al., 2014).

7.5.2 **Multivariate analysis**

As noted previously, although informative, bivariate analyses can hide the true relationships between different factors and the measure of interest, in this case

participation in internships. Therefore, in order to explore the true patterns in participation related to background and study factors it is necessary to carry out a multivariate analysis of the data. The analysis described in this chapter so far, as well as in chapter six, has shown that there appear to be differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of quality and perceived developmental benefits and usefulness. Therefore, a multinomial logistic regression analysis was employed in order to explore the potentially differing relationships between personal and study characteristics and participation rates in paid and unpaid internships.

Studies have proposed a number of factors thought to be related to participation in graduate internships (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). However, these relationships have either: not been demonstrated empirically, have failed to adequately control for the contribution of extraneous factors, or have failed to examine patterns related to social class. Therefore, as the analysis was essentially exploratory in nature a stepwise model selection procedure was employed in order to explore which variables help predict participation in graduate internships. A backwards elimination procedure was used in order to minimise potential suppressor effects associated with forward selection procedures and thus reduce the chances of Type II error (Field, 2009). Variables entered in the model were chosen either because they have been linked with participation in internships from previous research (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Ball, et al., 2010), or where an association was found in the secondary analysis of destinations data presented in chapter six. Variables entered into the analysis were:

- Age at the time of graduation;
- Ethnicity –white or black or minority ethnic group;
- Gender;
- Whether the respondents' parents had previously studied at university or polytechnic (a proxy for social class – Roberts, 2010);
- Region of domicile;
- Classification of degree;

- Broad subject area – first subject is either creative arts and design subject or mass communications and documentation;
- Graduating cohort;
- Previous participation in work placements while studying (an indication of career motivation and orientation);
- And a measure of reputational value associated with the HEI attended based on league table scores.

An interaction term for classification of degree by parental experience of HE was also included as the DLHE analysis in chapter six suggested that access routes may vary for graduates from different social backgrounds depending upon their grades.

At each stage variables contained in the model were assessed for removal by examining their coefficients and whether removal would result in a non-significant increase in the overall -2 Log likelihood of the model at the α= .01 level. The final model was achieved after five iterations (see Table 7.5). Removal of further variables would have led to a significant reduction of the predictive power of the model.

Table 7.5: Iteration history for backwards elimination multinomial logistic regression

Iteration	Variable removed	Change in -2LI	Df	P
	Intercept only (initial -2LI)	777.427		
0	All variables	108.093	30	<.0005
1	Classification of degree by parental experience of HE	1.573	4	0.814
2	Sex	3.96	4	0.411
3	Ethnicity	2.37	2	0.306
4	Region of domicile	2.998	2	0.223
5	Broad subject area	3.568	2	0.168
Change in -2LI if removed				
	Age at graduation	20.207	2	<.0005
	Whether did a work placement at uni	9.894	2	0.007
	Cohort	8.499	4	0.075
	Classification of degree	14.602	4	0.006
	Parental experience of HE	4.904	2	0.086
	League table score of HEI	20.621	2	<.0005

Base: Working age in employment (N= 538)

Inspection of the odds ratios for the full model (Table 7.6) show that age, degree class and league table score were all significantly related to propensity to engage in graduate internships (paid or unpaid). In both cases, paid or unpaid, classification of degree and league table score were positively related to participation, with those graduating from higher ranking institutions or achieving a first or an upper second being more likely to have participated in a graduate internship (all else being equal). Age, on the other hand, was negatively related to propensity to undertake an internship, with older graduates being less likely to have done an internship, paid or unpaid, all else being equal.

Cohort and work placement experience were significantly related to participation in unpaid internships but not paid internships. Those graduating in the 2009/10 were more likely to have engaged in an unpaid internship since leaving university than those from the 2011/12 cohort, perhaps suggesting a peak in unpaid internships for the former cohort. From looking at the bivariate patterns in Table 7.4, although as many graduates in the 2011/12 cohort had engaged in an internship a slightly lower proportion reported having done an unpaid internship (14 compared to 18 per cent). Graduates who had completed an internship or work placement whilst at university were more likely than those who had not to have engaged in an unpaid internship since leaving university. Parental experience of HE was positively related to propensity to have done a paid (but not unpaid) internship, with those whose parents studied in HE more likely to have done a paid internship than those without parental experience of HE.

The results of the multivariate analysis largely fit in with the bivariate patterns of participation in internships, although the fact that region of domicile was not found to be significantly related to participation in internships whilst controlling for other factors suggests that the bivariate association found for region is likely to have been caused by other factors contained in the model or the institutional make-up of the sample as suggested previously. It is worth noting that ethnicity was not found to be significantly related to propensity to undertake an internship as there has been concern in the literature that graduates from black and minority ethnic groups may be excluded from taking part in internships (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011) and some creative sectors more generally (e.g. Holgate and McKay, 2009). However, any potential differences in participation rates between different ethnic groups may be masked in the current analysis due to the fact that small base sizes meant that graduates from different ethnic groups had to be grouped together. For example, the

analysis of DLHE data presented in chapter six found that participation rates in internships were higher for some ethnic groups in some regions but lower in other regions. Alternatively, it may be that any potential disadvantage in terms of success of applications may be balanced out by an increased tendency to apply as was found in the evaluations of government-backed schemes (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). The fact that gender and broad subject area did not significantly predict participation in internships is perhaps unsurprising considering the fact that gender was not expected to be a strong predictor of participation and both broad subject areas covered by the survey were purposely selected because they had high participation rates in internships in the analysis of destinations data presented in chapter six.

Of the continuous variables included in the model, age was negatively related to propensity to have undertaken a graduate internship since leaving university while league table score was positively related to internships. For age, an increase in age of one year represents a decrease in the odds of having done a paid internship of around 17 per cent and a decrease in the odds of having engaged in an unpaid internship of eleven per cent (all else being equal). It could be argued that this is to be expected as older graduates may be more likely to have financial responsibilities that younger graduates may not have, which may make it harder to work for low or no pay for any substantial period of time, or they may be more likely to already have labour market experience. Interpreting the coefficient for league table score is complicated due to the nature of the variable, however the fact that relationship was in a positive direction and that is broadly the same for both paid and unpaid internships indicates that the reputational value of institution studied at is equally important in securing paid and unpaid opportunities.

Of the categorical predictors contained in the final model, classification of degree was found to be a strong predictor of participation in internships, and having a 2:1 or above increased the odds of having engaged in an internship by more than two and a half times on average (more than three times for those with a first class degree), all else being equal. Previous experience of a work placement whilst at university also had a significant effect on propensity to have done an unpaid internship, more than doubling the odds of having done an unpaid internship all else being equal compared to not having done a previous work placement. Although the coefficient for the relationship between work placements while studying and paid internships was not

quite statistically significant at the α= .05 level, the relationship was in a positive direction.

While having a parent who studied at university increased the odds of having had a paid internship since graduation by nearly double, relative to not having a parent that studied at HE level (all else being equal), the relationship between parental experience of HE and propensity to engage in an unpaid internship was not statistically significant. This finding contradicts the view held by many that it is the practice of unpaid internships that acts to exclude those from less advantaged backgrounds, as (among respondents to this survey at least) there was no evidence to suggest that those from less advantaged backgrounds were any less likely to engage in an unpaid internship than their more advantaged counterparts after controlling for other factors. From looking at the bivariate patterns in Table 7.4, while graduates with no parental experience of HE were less likely to do unpaid internships than those with parental experience of HE (eleven compared to 15 per cent), they were even less likely to do paid ones (nine compared to 17 per cent). However, the fact that, even after removing financial barriers and controlling for differences in grades and league table score of institution, graduates from more advantaged backgrounds seem more able to access paid internships, which are arguably more beneficial, is concerning and may be an indicator of differences in social capital and/or the ability to 'play the game' and package themselves in a way that is attractive to employers (Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Bathmaker et al., 2013).

Overall, the main factors that were found to be significantly related to participation in internships might be seen as reflecting practical considerations on the one hand (e.g. older graduates may be less inclined or less able to engage in internships due to financial considerations or responsibilities) and reflecting measures of social and cultural capital on the other (i.e. grades, institutional reputation and social class). The results suggest that whilst traditional credentials, or 'hard currencies' of employability, such as grades, university attended and previous work experience do appear to help graduates in the labour market, other factors related to social class also still play a part in terms of patterns of advantage and disadvantage. In addition, the fact that those who had already completed a work placement while at university were also more likely to have engaged in an unpaid internship, arguably fits in with findings from other studies that suggest that some groups may be more likely to take advantage of opportunities that are open to them in order to advance their privileged position in the labour market (Brown et al., 2014).

Table 7.6: Propensity to participate in paid internships or unpaid internships only compared to non-participation (full model)

	B	Std. Error	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower Bound 95% C.I.	Upper Bound 95% C.I.
Unpaid internships only						
Intercept	-6.473	2.03	0.001			
Age at graduation	-0.115	0.049	0.019	0.891	0.81	0.981
Placement	0.831	0.282	0.003	2.296	1.321	3.99
No placement	0b	.	.	.	.	.
2007/08	0.569	0.344	0.098	1.766	0.899	3.469
2009/10	0.721	0.329	0.029	2.056	1.078	3.919
2011/12	0b	.	.	.	.	.
1st	1.27	0.468	0.007	3.561	1.423	8.912
2:1	0.934	0.443	0.035	2.544	1.068	6.06
2:2/3rd	0b	.	.	.	.	.
HE parent	0.19	0.284	0.504	1.209	0.693	2.11
No HE parents	0b	.	.	.	.	.
League table score of HEI	0.077	0.023	0.001	1.08	1.033	1.13
Paid internships (inc. some with paid and unpaid)						
Intercept	-4.798	2.263	0.034			
Age at graduation	-0.18	0.073	0.013	0.835	0.724	0.963
Placement	0.464	0.28	0.097	1.59	0.919	2.751
No placement	0b	.	.	.	.	.
2007/08	-0.429	0.367	0.241	0.651	0.317	1.335
2009/10	-0.201	0.342	0.556	0.818	0.418	1.598
2011/12	0b	.	.	.	.	.
1st	1.123	0.478	0.019	3.075	1.204	7.853
2:1	1.091	0.441	0.013	2.977	1.254	7.068
2:2/3rd	0b	.	.	.	.	.
HE parent	0.624	0.286	0.029	1.866	1.065	3.268
No HE parents	0b	.	.	.	.	.
League table score of HEI	0.08	0.022	<.0005	1.083	1.037	1.132

Base: Working age respondents in work (N= 538)
Note: R^2= .160 (Cox and Snell), .206 (Nagelkerke), .117 (McFadden). Model $\chi^2(16)= 93.624$, p< .0005.

7.6 Employment outcomes

The general view of graduate internships propounded in the literature and held more widely is that they are a way of developing employability, industry-specific skills and knowledge, and provide experience that is valued by employers and thus advantages the position of interns in the labour market, particularly in certain sectors such as government, marketing, public relations, the media and the creative industries (Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). As such, one might expect that those with internship experience would have a more favourable employment situation in the short to medium term. However, the extent to which graduate internships genuinely do lead to more favourable employment outcomes has not been demonstrated empirically. Research that has attempted to look at employment outcomes related to graduate internships has failed to control for other factors when attributing outcomes, or has not separated internships from other forms of unpaid work (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Purcell et al., 2012). This section attempts to address this gap in the literature by examining the proposition that graduate internships lead to more favourable employment outcomes in terms of occupation levels, creative jobs, and income.

7.6.1 Approach

In contrast to the analysis on participation in the previous section, when it comes to graduate employment there is a bit more quantitative evidence in the literature as to the factors that have an impact on positive outcomes. For example, research has shown that income and occupational outcomes vary by: subject area, grades, institution attended, placement experience, ethnicity and social background (e.g. Purcell et al., 2012; Saniter and Siedler, 2014; Walker and Zhu, 2013; De Vries, 2014). Therefore, whereas in the analysis presented in the previous section the emphasis was on exploring which factors are related to a particular outcome, participation in internships, in this section the emphasis is on examining the proposition that internships lead to better labour market outcomes whilst controlling for other factors that are assumed to impact on outcomes.

This section examines the impact internships have on three labour market outcomes: graduate level jobs, creative jobs, and income. In each case, the analysis looks at

bivariate patterns in the data before using multivariate analyses to examine the proposition that internships improve graduates' employability.

7.6.2 Graduate level jobs

Although a number of definitions of graduate jobs have been proposed over the years (e.g. Elias and Purcell, 2004; Elias and Purcell, 2012), there continues to be debate about what constitutes a 'graduate job' and how they should be measured in practice (James et al., 2013; Purcell et al., 2012: Ware, 2015a, 2015b). While it is not the intention of this thesis to engage in this debate, a measure was devised that sought to provide some indication of whether the jobs graduates were doing at the time of the survey were of a level requiring a relatively higher level of education and that by-and-large are occupied by graduates. The measure used was whether respondents had an occupation in SOC major groups 1-3: 'Managers, directors and senior officials', 'Professional occupations' and 'Associate professional and technical occupations'. Further details about this measure of graduate level jobs and how it was coded can be found in chapter five.

Bivariate patterns

Using this measure, a total of 72 per cent of those in work had a graduate level job. At the bivariate level gender, parental experience of HE, classification of degree, prior placement experience whilst at university, current location, and league table score of institution were all found to be significantly associated with having a graduate job (Table 7.7). Groups more/less likely to have a graduate job were[1]:

- Men were more likely than women to have a graduate level job;
- Graduates with a parent that went to university/polytechnic were more likely than those without to have a graduate level job;

[1] All reported differences were found to be significant at the α= .05 level of significance using chi-square tests of association and z-tests of column proportions. Independent samples t-tests were used for scale variables to see if mean values were significantly different between groups.

- Graduates with a 2:2 or below were less likely than those achieving higher grades to have a graduate level job;
- Graduates who completed a placement whilst at university were more likely than those who did not to have a graduate level job;
- Those living in the UK outside of London were less likely to have a graduate job than those living in London or outside the UK;
- And graduates who had a graduate level job tended to be from higher scoring HEIs than those without a graduate job.

In terms of internship experience, graduates who had experience of a paid internship were more likely to have a graduate level job than those with no internship experience (χ^2= 6.527, df= 2, p= .038). However, there was no evidence to suggest that graduates with only experience of unpaid internships were any more or less likely to have a graduate level job than those who had had a paid internship or those who had no internship experience (p> .05).

Table 7.7: Graduate level jobs by personal/study characteristics and internship experience

	Managerial/professional /associate prof/technical occupations, %	Other occupations, %	Total, %	Total, N
Gender				
Female	68.4	31.6	100	367
Male	80.2	19.8	100	197
Age at graduation				
Under 25	71.2	28.8	100	455
25+	77.3	22.7	100	110
Ethnicity				
White	72.3	27.7	100	527
Black and minority ethnic group	76.5	23.5	100	34
Whether had a parent that studied at university/polytechnic				
No	68.6	31.4	100	312
Yes	77	23	100	252

	Managerial/professional /associate prof/technical occupations, %	Other occupations, %	Total, %	Total, N
Graduating cohort				
2007/08	76.4	23.6	100	140
2009/10	71.2	28.8	100	146
2011/12 (or after)	71.0	29.0	100	279
Broad subject area				
Creative arts and design	73.6	26.4	100	459
Mass communications and documentation	68.0	32.0	100	97
Classification of degree				
First	77.7	22.3	100	157
2:1	74.3	25.7	100	288
2:2/Third/pass/ unclassified	60.8	39.2	100	120
Whether did a work placement whilst at university				
No	66.2	33.8	100	352
Yes	82.5	17.5	100	212
Region currently living				
Greater London	84.1	15.9	100	126
Elsewhere in UK	66.1	33.9	100	387
EU/overseas	92.0	8.0	100	50
Graduate internship experience				
None	70.0	30.0	100	426
Unpaid only	75.4	24.6	100	69
Paid (inc. some with unpaid also)	84.3	15.7	100	70
League table score*				
Mean	73.05	71.50	72.62	
SE	0.31	0.484		
Total, N	409	156	565	

Base: Those in work (N= 565)
Notes: *Mean, standard error and valid number displayed for league table score

Multivariate analysis

Although these patterns are informative in providing some idea of groups that are more or less likely to have a graduate level job two to six years after graduation, and

appear to indicate that those with experience of paid internships may be more likely to have a graduate level job, they do not tell us the whole picture in terms of what factors predict propensity to have a graduate level job when controlling for other factors that may be related. In particular, these patterns do not tell us whether it is having participated in a graduate internship *per se* that increases the likelihood of having a graduate level job or if it is due to the fact that those that do internships tend to have better grades, have studied at higher ranking institutions, and/or to be from different backgrounds. Therefore, in order to test the proposition that internship experience leads to increased chances of having a graduate level job a logistic regression was carried out on the data by firstly entering all control variables found to be related to favourable graduate outcomes from previous research (e.g. Purcell et al., 2012; Saniter and Siedler, 2014; Walker and Zhu, 2013; De Vries, 2014) and then testing whether the addition of previous internship experience helped improve prediction by assessing the change in -2 log likelihood of the model.

The outcome variable used in the analysis was the same measure as used in the bivariate analysis above, with graduates classed as having a graduate level occupation if they had a graduate level job in any of the current jobs that they reported. The control variables entered into the model were as follows:

- Age group at graduation (under 25 vs 25 or older);
- Gender (male or female);
- Ethnicity (white or black and minority ethnic background);
- Whether the student had a parent or guardian who studied in higher education (a proxy for social class);
- Where graduates were currently living (London, elsewhere in the UK, or EU/overseas);
- Cohort of graduation;
- Broad subject area (CAD or MCD);
- Classification of degree (1st, 2:1, and 2:2 or below);
- League table score of institution (a measure of the reputational value attached to graduates' institution of study);

- And whether they had undertaken a placement whilst at university.

The initial model containing all control variables and the model including graduate internship experience can be seen in Table 7.8. Whilst the initial model was found to be a relatively good fit of the data[1], the addition of internship experience to the model did not significantly improve the predictive power of the model (Δ-2Ll= 3.316, df= 2, p= .191). And while league table score, classification of degree, participation in a work placement whilst at university, gender and current location were found to be positively related to increased chances of having a graduate level job there was no evidence to suggest that participation in either a paid or unpaid internship significantly increased chances of having a graduate level job. Similarly, propensity to have a graduate level job was not found to be significantly related to age, cohort, ethnicity, subject area and parental experience of HE. With the exception of gender the relationships that were found to be statistically significant can be seen as factors that represent measures of cultural and/or human capital, and as linked to the concept of employability, as follows:

- Having an upper second class degree or a first more than doubles the odds of having a graduate level job relative to those with lower classifications of degree, all else being equal;

- Graduating from an institution with a higher league table score, a measure of reputational value, increases the odds of having a graduate level job, all else being equal;

- And having completed a work placement whilst at university, perhaps reflecting career oriented motivations, more than doubles the odds of having a graduate level job, all else being equal.

The fact that being male increases the odds of having a graduate level job relative to women (by a factor of two all else being equal) is consistent with findings of other studies (e.g. Purcell et al., 2012; Devine and Li, 2013) and perhaps reflects a combination of gender differences in career orientations to some extent, but also potential disadvantage in the labour market. The fact that graduates living in London or outside of the UK increased the odds of having a graduate level job (by two and a

[1] Through inspection of -2 log-likelihood, Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke R^2, and Hosmer and Lemeshow statistics.

half and five and a half times respectively all else being equal) reflects the regional disparities in the concentration of graduate level jobs within the UK and perhaps reflects variations in graduate labour markets outside the UK. However, most significantly these findings fail to support the proposition that graduate internships lead to increased chances of having a graduate level job in the short to medium term, at least for graduates from creative and communications related subjects.

Table 7.8: Logistic regression model for propensity to have a graduate level job

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Model 1						
League Table score of HEI	0.037	0.018	0.036	1.037	1.002	1.074
Classification of degree			0.009			
1st	0.761	0.299	0.011	2.14	1.19	3.847
2:1	0.734	0.255	0.004	2.083	1.262	3.437
Cohort			0.455			
2007/08	0.282	0.265	0.287	1.326	0.789	2.227
2009/10	-0.069	0.25	0.782	0.933	0.571	1.524
Age at graduation 25+	0.326	0.284	0.251	1.385	0.794	2.414
Parents went to HE	0.231	0.217	0.287	1.26	0.823	1.927
Subject area - Mass communications and documentation	-0.314	0.272	0.248	0.73	0.429	1.245
Black or minority ethnic group	-0.11	0.455	0.81	0.896	0.367	2.187
Sex: male	0.776	0.233	0.001	2.174	1.377	3.431
Region living now			<0.0005			
London	0.921	0.29	0.002	2.512	1.422	4.436
EU or overseas	1.704	0.555	0.002	5.496	1.852	16.307
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.805	0.234	0.001	2.237	1.415	3.536
Constant	-3.165	1.307	0.015	0.042		
Model 2						
League Table score of HEI	0.037	0.018	0.042	1.037	1.001	1.074
Classification of degree			0.010			
1st	0.751	0.304	0.014	2.119	1.168	3.846
2:1	0.733	0.259	0.005	2.081	1.254	3.455

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Cohort			0.384			
2007/08	0.329	0.267	0.218	1.39	0.823	2.348
2009/10	-0.046	0.251	0.855	0.955	0.584	1.563
Age at graduation 25+	0.318	0.288	0.269	1.374	0.782	2.415
Parents went to HE	0.215	0.218	0.324	1.24	0.809	1.9
Subject area - Mass communications and documentation	-0.330	0.273	0.227	0.719	0.421	1.228
Black or minority ethnic group	-0.130	0.456	0.776	0.878	0.359	2.148
Sex: male	0.747	0.234	0.001	2.11	1.333	3.339
Region living now			<0.0005			
London	0.949	0.293	0.001	2.584	1.454	4.592
EU or overseas	1.720	0.557	0.002	5.583	1.872	16.65
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.837	0.238	<0.0005	2.309	1.449	3.68
Previous unpaid internship	-0.406	0.31	0.191	0.667	0.363	1.224
Previous paid internship	0.539	0.38	0.155	1.715	0.815	3.61
Constant	-3.153	1.331	0.018	0.043		

Base: Working age in employment (N=547)
Model 1: R^2= .626 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .126 (Cox and Snell), .183 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(13)$= 73.814, p< .0005. 73.7% correct.
Model 2: R^2= .432 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .132 (Cox and Snell), .191 (Nagelkerke). Model χ^2 (2)= 3.316, p< .432. 74.6% correct.

7.6.3 **Creative jobs**

Having a graduate level job is one measure of the potential outcomes of graduate internships. However, previous research has shown that for some graduates, particularly those from CAD and MCD subjects, the occupation level of jobs and/or income are perhaps secondary to other considerations such as use of course-related knowledge and skills and ability to be creative (Ball, et al., 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2010). In addition, much of the literature has suggested that in some sectors, such as the creative industries and the media, internships and unpaid working are increasingly seen as an essential route of entry (Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). Thus, for graduates covered by the CGCS survey, whether or not respondents had a creative occupation at the time of the survey might

reasonably be considered a positive labour-market outcome, one which graduate internships are purported to help achieve.

In order to see whether graduate internships do in fact lead to increased chances of having a creative job, a measure of creative jobs was derived using a definition developed during the *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* project (Ball et al., 2010). Details of how this measure was derived can be found in chapter five, and a list of occupations included can be seen in Appendix H.

Bivariate patterns

When employing this definition of creative occupations 60 per cent of those with work had a creative job in at least one of up to three work activities at the time of the survey. Table 7.9 shows the proportion of respondents that had a creative job, using the above definition, for each of the personal and study characteristics used in the analysis. At the bivariate level, statistically significant associations were found for gender, classification of degree, current location, parental experience of HE, league table score of HEI, and previous experience of work placements, with[1]:

- Men more likely than women to have a creative job;
- Those with a parent that went to university/polytechnic more likely than those without to have a creative job;
- Those with an upper second class degree or above being more likely than those with a lower second or below to have a creative job;
- Graduates with work placement experience more likely than those without to have a creative job;
- Those living in London being more likely to have a creative job than those living elsewhere in the UK;

[1] All reported differences were found to be significant at the α= .05 level of significance using chi-square tests of association and z-tests of column proportions. Independent samples t-tests were used for scale variables to see if mean values were significantly different between groups.

- And those with a creative job tended to have studied at a university with a league table score that was higher on average than those working in non-creative occupations [1].

Graduates with internship experience (paid or unpaid) were more likely than those without to have a creative job on average, with just under three quarters of unpaid interns, and just over three quarters of paid interns having a creative job at the time of the survey compared to just over half of non-interns.

Table 7.9: Proportion of respondents reporting a creative job in any of their current activities

	Creative occupations, %	Other occupations, %	Total, %	Total, N
Gender				
Female	54.2	45.8	100	365
Male	71.1	28.9	100	197
Age on graduation				
Under 25	58.3	41.7	100	453
25+	67.3	32.7	100	110
Ethnicity				
White	59.9	40.1	100	526
Black and minority ethnic group	66.7	33.3	100	33
Parental experience of HE				
No	54.3	45.7	100	311
Yes	67.3	32.7	100	251
Graduating cohort				
2007/08	57.9	42.1	100	140
2009/10	61.6	38.4	100	146
2011/12 (or after)	60.3	39.7	100	277
Subject of study				
Creative arts and design	60.4	39.6	100	457
Mass communications and documentation	58.8	41.2	100	97

[1] A Levene test of homogeneity of variance showed that equal variances could not be assumed (p= .006). Therefore, adjusted degrees of freedom were employed in significance testing for league table score.

	Creative occupations, %	Other occupations, %	Total, %	Total, N
Classification of degree				
First	70.1	29.9	100	157
2:1	62.4	37.6	100	287
2:2/Third/pass/unclassified	41.2	58.8	100	119
Whether did a work placement whilst at uni				
No	55.1	44.9	100	350
Yes	68.4	31.6	100	212
Current location				
Greater London	74.4	25.6	100	125
Elsewhere in UK	55.2	44.8	100	386
EU/overseas	62.0	38.0	100	50
Internship experience				
None	55.4	44.6	100	424
Unpaid only	71.0	29.0	100	69
Paid (inc. some with unpaid)	77.1	22.9	100	70
League table score of HEI*				
Mean	73.34	71.6	72.65	
SE	0.353	0.38		
Count	338	225	563	

Base: Those in work (N= 563)
Notes: *Mean, standard error and valid number displayed for league table score

However, as noted previously, bivariate patterns of association between factors and outcomes do not necessarily reflect true relationships in the data. Therefore, in order to test whether graduate internships do indeed lead to increased chances of having a creative job when controlling for other factors a logistic regression analysis was employed, using the same approach as for graduate level jobs. As, by and large, the factors that are thought to predict creative jobs tend to be the same as those thought to predict graduate jobs (Ball et al., 2010), the control variables entered into the analysis were the same as those listed in the previous section.

The initial model including all control variables and the final model including terms for participation in paid and unpaid internships can be seen in Table 7.10. As with the analysis of graduate level jobs, whilst the initial model was found to be a relatively good fit of for the data, the addition of internship experience to the model did not significantly improve the predictive power of the model (Δ-2Ll= 4.541, df= 2, p= .103) and in fact resulted in a lower proportion of correctly classified cases (69.0 compared

to 69.4 per cent for 'Model 1'). As with graduate level jobs, factors found to be significantly related to propensity to have a creative job can largely be thought of as measures of cultural capital, measures of educational achievement, institutional signifiers, and measures related to employability and career orientation. Unlike the analysis for graduate level jobs parental experience of higher education was also found to be related to increased chances of having a creative job, with those with a parent that went to university or polytechnic being more than one and a half times more likely than those without a parent that went to university to have a creative job (all else being equal). But like the analysis for graduate level jobs gender and current location were also found to be related to propensity to have a creative job, with men and graduates living in London being more likely to have a creative job on average, all else being equal.

Of the categorical variables that were found to be significantly related to increased odds of having a creative job classification of degree, gender and where graduates were currently living had the strongest effect on the odds of having a creative job, each leading to an increase in the odds of having a creative job by more than double, all else being equal. Parental experience of higher education, age and whether or not graduates completed a work placement whilst studying were the next most influential factors in predicting graduate jobs, each increasing the odds of having a creative job by one and a half times on average, all else being equal. Comparing the relative effect of league table score on propensity to have a creative job is not easy, due to the nature of the variable. However, the fact that league table score was found to be a significant predictor of creative jobs perhaps shows that institutional signifiers and reputational value attached to institutions still has an effect on graduate outcomes. Thus, as with graduate level jobs, it would seem that factors related to geography and cultural or human capital, such as grades, institutional reputation and work placement experience, are important in securing creative jobs. However, unlike with graduate level jobs, parental experience of higher education, arguably an indication of class and social and cultural capital, also appears to be a factor in the pursuit of a creative career. Importantly, although those with internship experience were more likely to have a creative job at the bivariate level, there was no evidence to support the idea that graduate internships help graduates get creative jobs when controlling for other factors like institution and grades.

Table 7.10: Logistic regression analyses for propensity to have a creative job

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Model 1						
League Table score of HEI	0.043	0.016	0.007	1.044	1.012	1.077
Classification of degree			<0.0005			
1st	1.094	0.280	<0.0005	2.986	1.725	5.168
2:1	0.892	0.244	<0.0005	2.441	1.515	3.934
Cohort			0.757			
2007/08	-0.160	0.235	0.498	0.853	0.537	1.353
2009/10	0.016	0.233	0.947	1.016	0.643	1.604
Age at graduation 25+	0.410	0.254	0.107	1.506	0.915	2.48
Parents went to HE	0.471	0.199	0.018	1.601	1.084	2.365
Subject area - mass communications and documentation	-0.045	0.254	0.859	0.956	0.581	1.574
Black or minority ethnic group	0.295	0.422	0.483	1.344	0.588	3.070
Sex: male	0.909	0.210	<0.0005	2.481	1.645	3.741
Region living now			0.011			
London	0.740	0.249	0.003	2.096	1.285	3.417
EU or overseas	-0.013	0.343	0.970	0.987	0.504	1.935
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.409	0.204	0.044	1.505	1.010	2.243
Constant	-4.298	1.206	<0.0005	0.014		
Model 2						
League Table score of HEI	0.037	0.016	0.022	1.038	1.005	1.072
Classification of degree			0.001			
1st	1.011	0.283	<0.0005	2.747	1.578	4.783
2:1	0.825	0.246	0.001	2.282	1.410	3.693
Cohort			0.774			
2007/08	-0.156	0.237	0.511	0.856	0.537	1.363
2009/10	0.010	0.235	0.967	1.01	0.637	1.601
Age at graduation 25+	0.494	0.258	0.055	1.639	0.989	2.715
Parents went to HE	0.447	0.200	0.026	1.563	1.056	2.315
Subject area - Mass communications and documentation	-0.060	0.257	0.814	0.941	0.569	1.557
Black or minority ethnic group	0.218	0.429	0.610	1.244	0.537	2.881

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Sex: male	0.921	0.211	<0.0005	2.511	1.660	3.799
Region living now			0.016			
London	0.703	0.252	0.005	2.02	1.233	3.311
EU or overseas	-0.071	0.345	0.838	0.932	0.473	1.834
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.373	0.206	0.069	1.453	0.971	2.173
Previous unpaid internship	0.323	0.289	0.264	1.381	0.784	2.431
Previous paid internship	0.523	0.325	0.107	1.688	0.893	3.190
Constant	-3.900	1.220	0.001	0.020		

Base: Working age in employment (N= 545)
Note: Model 1 – R^2= .191 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .133 (Cox and Snell), .181 (Nagelkerke). Model X^2 (13)= 78.045, p< .0005. [69.4% correct]
Model 2 – R^2= .726 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .141 (Cox and Snell), .191 (Nagelkerke). Model X^2 (2)= 4.541, p= .103. [69.0% correct]

7.6.4 Creative and graduate level jobs as a 'main' job

The above regression analyses looked at whether internships increased the chances of having a graduate level or creative job in any of up to three reported current jobs. The reason for looking across all jobs was so that the measure could take into account the diverse career patterns among creative and mass communications graduates where working in multiple jobs is common (Ball et al., 2010). Indeed, in the current survey two-fifths (40 per cent) had more than one current job at the time of the survey. However, it could be reasonably argued that securing a graduate or creative job as a 'main' or only job might be a primary career aim for many creative and mass communications graduates. Thus, one might reasonably ask whether internships help in this goal. In order to assess this, the above analysis was repeated but only considering whether or not graduates' 'main' or only job was creative or at a graduate level. For graduates with more than one job their 'main' job was defined in the question wording as the one they spent the most time on. Overall, just over two-thirds (68 per cent) had a graduate level job and just over half (53 per cent) had a creative job as their main or only job.

As with the previous analysis looking at all jobs the approach taken was to estimate a logistic regression model including all the variables expected to predict graduate level and creative jobs from previous research and then test whether adding internship

experience to the model helps improve its predictive power. The control variables added to the analysis were the same as listed previously. The final model for graduate level job and creative job in main/only job can be seen in Table 7.11 and Table 7.12. In contrast to the previous analysis looking at all jobs, in both cases the addition of terms for internship experience significantly improved prediction of graduate level and creative jobs in graduates' main/only job. However, whilst in both cases paid internship experience increased the odds of having a graduate level or creative job (by more than a factor of two – all else being equal), the coefficient for experience of unpaid internships was not statistically significant suggesting that those with experience of an unpaid internship were no more likely to have a graduate or creative job than those with no internship experience. As with the analyses for all jobs grades, location, and gender were found to be related to the chances of having both a graduate level or creative job in graduates' main/only job, and previous work placement experience increased chances of having a graduate level (but not a creative) job. Thus, while those with experience of a graduate internship were no more likely to have a creative or graduate level job across all jobs (when controlling for other factors), paid internships do appear to increase the chances of having a creative or graduate level job as a 'main' or only job. Unpaid internships, on the other hand, appear to be little help in this respect after controlling for factors such as grades and institution attended. Combined with the findings presented in section 7.4 this lends weight to an emerging hierarchical picture of internships with paid internships tending to be more beneficial in terms of development and employability and unpaid internships appearing to be of relatively little value to individuals.

Table 7.11: Logistic regression for propensity to have a graduate level job as 'main' job

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Model 1						
League Table Score of HEI	0.029	0.017	0.078	1.030	0.997	1.064
Classification of degree			0.017			
1st	0.763	0.291	0.009	2.144	1.213	3.79
2:1	0.607	0.248	0.014	1.835	1.128	2.986
Cohort			0.599			
2007/08	0.243	0.253	0.337	1.276	0.776	2.096
2009/10	0.003	0.243	0.989	1.003	0.624	1.614
Age at graduation 25+	0.029	0.263	0.911	1.030	0.615	1.724

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Parents went to HE	0.219	0.209	0.294	1.245	0.827	1.875
Subject area – MCD	-0.181	0.268	0.498	0.834	0.494	1.409
Black or minority ethnic group	-0.155	0.438	0.724	0.856	0.363	2.021
Sex: male	0.974	0.228	<.0005	2.650	1.696	4.139
Region living now			<.0005			
London	1.078	0.283	<.0005	2.939	1.689	5.115
EU or overseas	1.105	0.423	0.009	3.019	1.317	6.921
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.602	0.218	0.006	1.826	1.190	2.803
Constant	-2.776	1.248	0.026	0.062		
Model 2						
League Table Score of HEI	0.028	0.017	0.103	1.028	0.994	1.063
Classification of degree			0.025			
1st	0.733	0.296	0.013	2.081	1.166	3.717
2:1	0.589	0.252	0.019	1.802	1.100	2.952
Cohort			0.479			
2007/08	0.304	0.256	0.235	1.356	0.820	2.241
2009/10	0.040	0.244	0.869	1.041	0.645	1.680
Age at graduation 25+	0.036	0.267	0.893	1.037	0.614	1.750
Parents went to HE	0.196	0.211	0.351	1.217	0.805	1.839
Subject area – MCD	-0.220	0.270	0.416	0.803	0.473	1.363
Black or minority ethnic group	-0.186	0.441	0.672	0.830	0.350	1.969
Sex: male	0.938	0.229	<.0005	2.555	1.630	4.005
Region living now			<.0005			
London	1.122	0.287	<.0005	3.071	1.750	5.389
EU or overseas	1.124	0.427	0.009	3.078	1.332	7.112
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.642	0.223	0.004	1.900	1.227	2.944
Previous unpaid internship	-0.480	0.300	0.110	0.619	0.344	1.115
Previous paid internship	0.818	0.379	0.031	2.266	1.078	4.761
Constant	-2.669	1.270	0.036	0.069		

Base: Working age in employment (N= 538)
Model 1: R^2= .270 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .123 (Cox and Snell), .172 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(13)$= 70.372, p< .0005. 71.0% correct.
Model 2: R^2= .077 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .133 (Cox and Snell), .187 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(2)$= 6.651, p=.036. 71.6% correct.

Table 7.12: Logistic regression for propensity to have a creative job as 'main' job

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Model 1						
League Table Score of HEI	0.030	0.016	0.054	1.03	0.999	1.062
Classification of degree			0.002			
1st	0.842	0.276	0.002	2.322	1.352	3.987
2:1	0.814	0.245	0.001	2.257	1.396	3.65
Cohort			0.739			
2007/08	-0.134	0.232	0.563	0.874	0.555	1.378
2009/10	0.069	0.228	0.764	1.071	0.685	1.675
Age at graduation 25+	0.121	0.244	0.619	1.129	0.700	1.821
Parents went to HE	0.374	0.194	0.054	1.454	0.993	2.128
Subject area - MCD	-0.022	0.252	0.931	0.978	0.597	1.603
Black or minority ethnic group	0.183	0.407	0.653	1.201	0.541	2.667
Sex: male	1.001	0.204	<.0005	2.720	1.824	4.057
Region living now			<.0005			
London	0.935	0.242	<.0005	2.546	1.585	4.088
EU or overseas	-0.011	0.333	0.975	0.990	0.515	1.902
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.325	0.198	0.100	1.384	0.940	2.039
Constant	-3.515	1.17	0.003	0.030		
Model 2						
League Table Score of HEI	0.024	0.016	0.133	1.024	0.993	1.056
Classification of degree			0.007			
1st	0.753	0.279	0.007	2.123	1.228	3.668
2:1	0.739	0.248	0.003	2.093	1.288	3.402
Cohort			0.769			
2007/08	-0.112	0.234	0.631	0.894	0.565	1.415
2009/10	0.080	0.231	0.727	1.084	0.690	1.703
Age at graduation 25+	0.203	0.247	0.413	1.225	0.754	1.989
Parents went to HE	0.338	0.196	0.085	1.402	0.955	2.058
Subject area - MCD	-0.052	0.256	0.838	0.949	0.575	1.566
Black or minority ethnic group	0.096	0.414	0.816	1.101	0.489	2.477

	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio	Lower 95% C.I.	Upper 95% C.I.
Sex: male	1.009	0.206	<.0005	2.744	1.832	4.109
Region living now			0.001			
London	0.915	0.245	<.0005	2.497	1.546	4.033
EU or overseas	-0.061	0.336	0.856	0.941	0.487	1.817
Did a work placement whilst at uni	0.300	0.200	0.134	1.350	0.912	1.999
Previous unpaid internship	0.172	0.278	0.536	1.188	0.689	2.046
Previous paid internship	0.722	0.316	0.022	2.059	1.109	3.825
Constant	-3.094	1.188	0.009	0.045		

Base: Working age in employment (N= 539)
Model 1: R^2= .156 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .126 (Cox and Snell), .168 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(13)$= 72.479, p< .0005. 66.6% correct.
Model 2: R^2= .707 (Hosmer and Lemeshow), .136 (Cox and Snell), .182 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(2)$= 6.390, p=.041. 66.6% correct.

7.6.5 Income

Graduate internships are thought to enhance the employability of interns by providing industry-specific skills, knowledge and experience (CIPD, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). Therefore, it is arguably reasonable to assume that graduates with experience of an internship may fair better in the graduate labour market and thus earn more in the short to medium term. However, research has so far failed to demonstrate this empirically. The final measure of labour market outcomes that was investigated was respondents' incomes at the time of the survey. The proposition under examination being whether or not graduate internships lead to higher incomes in the short to medium term. While it is recognised that pay may not be paramount to all graduates, and particularly creative graduates, it can be argued that pay provides some indication of level of employment that measures based on occupational codes do not.

Bivariate analysis

Respondents' self-reported annual income was gathered using a banded questionnaire item 'In which of the following bands is your gross personal annual income (i.e. before tax)?'. Response bands went up in £5,000 increments up to £30,000 and then £10,000 increments to £50,000. The top band was 'more than

£50,000'. The centre point of each income band was used to assign values to each individual and £50,000 was used as a conservative value for those reporting income in the top income band. Although this approach may not be the most sophisticated way of allocating values when converting banded income responses, the approach was felt to be adequate for two main reasons. Firstly, because the main objective of the analysis is to explore the question of whether or not participation in a graduate internship improves the earning power of graduates rather than to make precise estimates of graduate incomes for different groups. Secondly, because there is limited data available to be able to make more precise estimates of individual incomes using multivariate techniques (such as imputation using logistic regression techniques). A logarithmic transformation of wages, often used in graduate premium studies, was not used in this analysis because, as all respondents in the survey were graduates, the non-linear increases in wages due to differences in level of education were not expected and because the income distribution for respondents was found to be broadly normal in shape. This approach is in line with similar studies looking at differences in income among graduates (e.g. De Vries, 2014; BIS, 2013).

A one-way ANOVA revealed that, at the bivariate level, there was some evidence of a relationship between internship experience and self-reported income ($F(2, 582)= 3.243$, $p= .04$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni method found that those with experience of paid internships earned around £4,000 more on average than those who had only unpaid internships ($p= .034$, – Table 7.13). There was no evidence to suggest that the earnings of those with no internship experience were any higher or lower on average than those with internship experience (paid or unpaid).

Table 7.13: Average income by graduate internship experience

	Mean	SE	Total, N
No internships	£18,333	492	441
Unpaid only	£15,845	1,190	71
Paid internship (inc. some with unpaid also)	£20,171	1,178	73
All respondents	£18,261	426	585

Base: All respondents (N= 585)
Notes: ANOVA – $F(2, 582)= 3.243$, $p= .04$. Paid Vs unpaid $p= .035$, Unpaid Vs No internships $p= .175$, Paid Vs No internships $p= .471$.

Multivariate analysis

As noted previously, although the bivariate patterns are informative it is not possible to infer from this that it is internship experience itself that is driving these differences. Therefore, in order to test the view that internships lead to better jobs, regression analyses were carried out to examine the proposition that internships improve the labour market position of graduates while controlling for other factors.

As with the analyses of creative and graduate level jobs a number of studies have identified factors that have been shown to be related to graduate incomes (e.g. BIS, 2013; Walker and Zhu, 2011, 2013; Sloane and O'Leary, 2005; De Vries, 2014; Purcell, et al., 2012; Saniter and Siedler, 2014). Therefore, the approach used in this analysis was to first specify a model incorporating factors previously linked to graduate incomes as control variables, before then testing the theory that internships lead to higher wages by introducing prior experience of paid and unpaid graduate internships to the model and assessing any improvement in the model.

Variables entered into the initial model were as follows:

- Classification of degree;
- League Table score of HEI;
- Age at graduation;
- Gender;
- Ethnicity – white vs black and minority ethnic groups;
- Whether parents studied in HE (proxy for social class);
- Broad subject area – CAD vs MCD;
- Cohort (equivalent to two, four and six years after graduation);
- Whether completed a work placement whilst at university;
- Whether respondents currently live in London, elsewhere in the UK, or overseas;
- Whether the respondent has any full-time work, or only part-time jobs;
- And whether the respondent has multiple jobs/work activities or just the one.

These last two factors were added to control for variation in income due to differences in job features and work situation.

The initial model containing all control variables and the final model including paid and unpaid internship experience can be seen in Table 7.14. The initial model was a reasonably good fit of the data, accounting for 33.4 per cent of the total variance in incomes. As might be expected, the control variables related to respondents' current work situations, such as work hours and number of jobs, were all found to be significantly related to income, as was cohort (years since graduating), and whether the graduate was living in London. Again classification of degree was also significantly related to income, with those with a first earning more on average (all else being equal). League table score was not significantly related to income nor was prior experience of a work placement whilst at university, which is perhaps surprising considering that both of these factors were predictors of graduate level jobs.

Introduction of terms for whether or not graduates had engaged in a paid or unpaid internship since finishing their course led to a statistically significant improvement of the model accounting for an additional 2.1 per cent of the total variance in incomes. Paid internships had a positive impact on incomes with those with experience of a paid internship earning £2,200 more on average than non-interns (all else being equal). However, rather than earning more on average graduates who had experience of unpaid internships actually earned more than £3,900 less on average than those who had not done an internship (all else being equal). This runs contrary to the prevailing view that internships, paid or unpaid, confer advantage in the graduate labour market. Although paid internships do genuinely appear to help graduates in the labour market, as was found for 'main' job, there is no evidence here that unpaid internships confer similar benefits and in fact may disadvantage graduates in the short to medium term.

On the other hand, this finding does fit in with evidence from the *Futuretrack* study which found that engaging in unpaid work after graduation had a negative impact on the chances of having a graduate level job (Purcell et al, 2012). However, one potential possibility is that, although engaging in unpaid work may have a negative impact on pay in the short term, it is possible that having gained valuable work experience incomes may recover at a faster rate than if they had not completed an internship. In order to test for this, interaction terms for internship participation by cohort were added to see if it led to a significant improvement in the model. The resultant model only accounted for an additional 0.2 per cent of the total variance in

graduates' incomes, which was not significant at the α= .05 level of significance (see Table 7.15). In addition, none of the coefficients for the interaction terms were significant, suggesting that the incomes of graduates who had done an internship since finishing their course did not increase at a faster rate. Therefore, model 2 (i.e. excluding the interaction terms) represents the best fit of the data.

In terms of the relative strength of impact on income, inspection of the standardised coefficients (Betas) reveals that a number of other factors have a stronger impact on graduate incomes. In order of strength, these relationships were as follows (all else being equal):

- Those who only had part-time work earned substantially less on average than those with a full-time job or work activity;
- Graduates living in London earned substantially more on average than those living elsewhere in the UK;
- Those graduating in the 2007/08 academic year earned substantially more than those graduating in 2011/12 (i.e. those graduating four years earlier earned more);
- Graduates with a first class degree earned more on average than those with a 2:2 or lower.

Unpaid internships had the next strongest effect on income, having a similar level of impact as having a first, albeit in the opposite direction. Paid internships had an effect of similar magnitude to the effect of age on income, or the impact of having an upper second class degree as opposed to a lower second or below (all else being equal). All of these relationships are in the direction of what one might expect from the literature and previous research. However, these latter three relationships were not as strong relative to the relationship for unpaid internships.

Table 7.14: Regression model for overall income

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Model 1				
(Constant)	8,218	4,989		0.100
League table score	58	63	0.035	0.360
Age at graduation	146	70	0.084	0.036
Classification of degree				
First	3,064	1,113	0.134	0.006
Upper second	1,236	974	0.061	0.205
Gender				
Male	1,011	791	0.047	0.201
Work situation				
Part-time work only	-9,698	1,030	-0.384	<0.0005
Number of jobs/work activities				
Has multiple jobs/activities	-2,133	790	-0.103	0.007
Current location				
EU/overseas	1,371	1,371	0.038	0.318
London	6,486	928	0.271	<0.0005
Parental experience of HE				
Parent studied at university/polytechnic	-31	790	-0.002	0.969
Ethnicity				
Black or minority ethnic background	-2,306	1,574	-0.055	0.144
Broad subject area				
MCD	1,525	1,001	0.058	0.128
Graduating cohort				
2007/08	4,779	926	0.204	<0.0005
2009/10	2,365	905	0.102	0.009
Work placement experience whilst studying				
Did a work placement	656	792	0.031	0.408
Model 2				
(Constant)	6,958	4,966		0.162
League table score	78	63	0.048	0.219
Age at graduation	126	69	0.073	0.070
Classification of degree				
First	3,411	1,107	0.149	0.002

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Upper second	1,502	970	0.074	0.122
Gender				
Male	626	785	0.029	0.426
Work situation				
Part-time work only	-9,474	1,017	-0.376	<0.0005
Number of jobs/work activities				
Has multiple jobs/activities	-1,899	782	-0.091	0.016
Current location				
EU/overseas	1,685	1,358	0.046	0.215
London	6,907	924	0.289	<0.0005
Parental experience of HE				
Parent studied at university/polytechnic	-152	781	-0.007	0.846
Ethnicity				
Black or minority ethnic background	-2,007	1,558	-0.048	0.198
Broad subject area				
MCD	1,475	989	0.056	0.136
Graduating cohort				
2007/08	5,220	920	0.223	<0.0005
2009/10	2,823	900	0.122	0.002
Work placement experience whilst studying				
Did a work placement	912	786	0.044	0.246
Internship experience				
Has done a paid internship since graduation	2,258	1,129	0.075	0.046
Has done an unpaid internship since graduation	-3,963	1,060	-0.146	<0.0005

Base: Working age in employment (N= 521)
Notes: Model 1 – R= .578, R^2= .334, R^2_{adj}= .314, F(15, 505)= 16.879, p< .0005.
Model 2 – R= .596, R^2= .355, R^2_{adj}= .333, F(2, 503)= 8.168, p< .0005.

Table 7.15: Regression model for overall income, including interaction terms

Model 3	B	SE	Beta	Sig.
(Constant)	6,532	4,985		0.191
League table score	80	63	0.049	0.208
Age at graduation	127	69	0.073	0.067
Classification of degree				
First	3,435	1,109	0.150	0.002
Upper second	1,506	974	0.074	0.123
Gender				
Male	611	786	0.029	0.438
Work situation				
Part-time work only	-9,501	1,018	-0.377	0.000
Number of jobs/work activities				
Has multiple jobs/activities	-1,880	783	-0.090	0.017
Current location				
EU/overseas	1,727	1,361	0.047	0.205
London	6,931	930	0.290	0.000
Parental experience of HE				
Parent studied at university/polytechnic	-74	785	-0.004	0.925
Ethnicity				
Black or minority ethnic background	-1,899	1,564	-0.046	0.225
Broad subject area				
MCD	1,554	992	0.059	0.118
Graduating cohort				
2007/08	5,578	1,013	0.238	0.000
2009/10	3,198	992	0.138	0.001
Work placement experience whilst studying				
Did a work placement	924	787	0.044	0.241
Internship experience				
Has done a paid internship since graduation	2,239	1,134	0.074	0.049
Has done an unpaid internship since graduation	-2,664	1,573	-0.098	0.091
Interaction terms				
Unpaid internships by 07/08 cohort	-2,215	2,410	-0.047	0.359
Unpaid internships by 09/10 cohort	-2,295	2,380	-0.050	0.335

Base: Working age in employment (N= 521)
Notes: Model 3 - R= .597, R^2=.356, R^2_{adj}= .332, F(2,501)= .627, p= .535.

7.6.6 Summary

In summary, the analysis of outcomes presented in this section adds further weight to the emerging picture of differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of their developmental benefits, quality and impact on employability, both perceived and in terms of labour market outcomes. Although when considering all jobs graduates held at the time of the survey those with internship experience were no more likely than non-interns to have a creative or graduate level job, paid internships do appear to help secure creative or graduate level jobs as a main/only job and to have a positive effect on pay in the short to medium term. Conversely, unpaid internships do not help graduates get a creative or graduate level job. Furthermore, when controlling for other factors – such as age, classification of degree, cohort and where they were living (and by extension working) – those with experience of unpaid internships actually earned less in the short to medium term than those with no internship experience. There was also no evidence in the data to suggest that the incomes of unpaid interns catch up with those of non-interns over the first two to six years after graduation. In terms of predicting income, the factors that had the strongest effect on income were having a full-time job, living in London, number of years since graduation (i.e. cohort), and classification of degree. As with pay, measures related to the hard and soft currencies of employability, cultural and social capital – such as grades, institution and social class – were also found to be related to chances of having a creative or graduate level job as a main job.

7.7 Conclusion

The literature on graduate internships paints a dual picture of the role of practice in the contemporary labour market. On the one hand they are seen as a way for aspirants to gain industry-specific skills, knowledge and experience, and to prove their worth in an increasingly competitive labour market. While at the same time there are suspicions they may at times operate in an informal economy of networks of privilege with those with the right contacts getting the best opportunities while many potential aspirants are unable to get a foot on the ladder because they either do not have the right social and cultural capital or cannot afford to work for no or low pay for

any significant period of time. Viewed in this way, it might be reasonable to expect to find the following:

1) That there would be distinct patterns of participation with those from less traditional or privileged backgrounds being less likely to participate in internships, and unpaid internships in particular;

2) That graduates with experience of internships would fare better in the graduate labour market and thus experience more favourable labour market outcomes;

3) That internships might be perceived as a good way to develop employment and career-related benefits.

This chapter has explored these propositions by firstly looking at how internships are perceived by graduates in general, as well as those who have experienced them. The focus then moved on to looking at patterns of participation, and then finally by looking at the potential outcomes of internships.

The analysis presented has found that, although internships are viewed by interns as useful in the development of their career and are perceived by graduates more widely as relatively good for developing skills and knowledge, networks and career more generally, paid internships are clearly seen as better on all of these aspects than unpaid internships and in many cases permanent work in a given sector or occupation may be preferable. This finding fits in with the findings from other research that suggest that paid internships tend to be more structured than unpaid ones with more defined developmental benefits, and that paying interns and investing effort into the internship is likely to benefit both parties (Milburn, 2009; Gerada, 2015; CIPD, 2015a; GPCF, 2013). In addition, there is no shortage of evidence in the literature of unpaid interns performing routine and mundane tasks with little developmental benefit (e.g. Frenette, 2013; Perlin, 2012), so it is hardly surprising if unpaid internships carry less currency in the labour market. The findings presented in this chapter stop short of fully supporting this proposition, but do provide support for the view that there are differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of developmental outcomes.

Secondly, in terms of participation in internships, by two to six years after graduation as many as one quarter of CAD and MCD graduates have engaged in an internship and the fact that very few were still engaged in internships by the time of the survey

suggests that most graduates have finished working internships by two years after graduation. When looking at which personal and study factors predict participation in internships the findings presented in this chapter suggest that the main factors that predict participation are factors related to cultural capital, such as degree classification, reputational value associated with the institution of study, and prior participation in a work placement. This latter factor may represent career orientations and/or reflect the attempts of those who are able to further position themselves above their peers in the scramble for the best jobs. These variables might also be seen as representing 'hard' currencies of employability (Brown and Hesketh, 2004). Although age did have an impact on propensity to have done an internship, as the literature would predict, there was no evidence in this analysis that ethnicity or region of domicile had a significant impact on participation in internships when controlling for other factors.

As with the analysis of DLHE data presented in chapter six, graduates from more privileged backgrounds (i.e. those with parental experience of HE) were more likely to have done an internship since graduation. But while parental experience of HE was not significantly related to participation in unpaid internships, when controlling for other factors, those with parental experience of HE were more likely to have done a paid internship than those whose parents had not been to university or polytechnic. Taken together, these findings suggest that whilst by and large the factors that predict participation in internships relate to cultural and human capital, and hard currencies, such as academic credentials, institutional signifiers, and career orientation, there is some evidence to suggest that graduates with greater levels of social and cultural capital may have better access to the best opportunities. This suggests that while credentials are important in accessing opportunities, patterns of advantage and disadvantage persist, particularly in the competition for the best opportunities.

Finally, in terms of labour market outcomes, although there was little evidence that graduate internships, paid or unpaid, increased the chances of having a creative or graduate job across all jobs when controlling for other factors there was evidence that paid internships do have some positive impact. Graduates with experience of a paid internship were more likely than non-interns to have a creative or graduate level job as a main/only job and tended to earn more. In contrast, there was no evidence that unpaid internships helped improve the chances of having a creative or graduate

level job (in main job or otherwise) and unpaid interns actually tended to earn less in the short to medium term.

Given the persistence of claims in the literature and the prevailing view of internships held in industry and policy circles, the finding that unpaid internships do not seem to increase graduates' chances of having a graduate level or creative job in the short to medium term is perhaps surprising. However, finding that unpaid internships actually lead to lower incomes in the short to medium term should perhaps be less surprising as other research has also found that participating in an unpaid internship may lead to less favourable labour market outcomes for graduates (Purcell et al., 2012). The reasons for this are unclear although it could be due to a delayed start on the pay ladder or a weakened bargaining position when taking a first paid position. Alternatively, it may reflect a hierarchical sorting in the graduate labour market whereby those with the best credentials and cultural and social capital secure the best opportunities while those with fewer hard and soft currencies are left to compete for less favourable positions. In this scenario unpaid internships may serve as a signal of being positioned further down the hierarchy than those who manage to secure paid opportunities and so convey a sort of scarring effect.

Taken together these findings challenge the prevailing view of internships on two levels. Firstly, although the findings show that credentials play a part in terms of accessing internships and in terms of getting on in the graduate labour market, there is evidence that the social disadvantage already evident in the education system continues into the graduate labour market with the privileged more able to access the better, paid opportunities. Secondly, unpaid internships appear to be little help in the graduate labour market. They are perceived as less beneficial and they appear to result in less favourable employment outcomes. Paid opportunities, however, do appear to help. Although those without internship experience, or experience of just unpaid internships, appear to find a way to do graduate level or creative work when considering secondary jobs and work activities, paid internships help graduates secure a creative or graduate level job as a main/only activity, and to earn more. This is of particular concern when considering questions of social mobility, given that those from more advantaged backgrounds are more able to access paid internships, even after removing financial barriers and controlling for grades and institution reputation.

8 Discussion of results

This chapter discusses the findings from both parts of the overall research methodology. It synthesises the findings in relation to the research questions and discusses the implications of the research before concluding by outlining the contribution of this thesis to theory.

The first three sections outline the main findings in relation to each of the three research questions outlined in the introduction:

1) To what extent is the practice of internships a feature of the graduate labour market, what forms do they take and what are the perceived benefits?

2) Are there issues around access to and participation in internships and do these have implications for fairness and social mobility?

3) What are the outcomes of engaging in graduate internships for individuals and do they improve interns' positions in the UK graduate labour market?

The following section, then draws upon these findings and outlines four main substantive findings that contribute to three key areas of debate within the sociology of employment literature: debates about the nature and operation of the graduate labour market (e.g. Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Brown et al., 2014; Tholen, 2012), debates about lengthening and individualised transitions linked to labour market change and increasing flexibilisation (e.g. Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011; Thompson, 2013), and debates about processes of socio-economic reproduction (e.g. Roberts, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984). When taken together the research contributes a much more detailed and nuanced picture of the practice of internships than has been presented thus far and adds to the burgeoning body of academic literature on internships.

The findings challenge the ‘dual view’ of internships that has been promulgated in much of the policy literature and public discourse on internships, and is also evident in some of the academic literature, whereby they are presented as something of a double-edged sword (Gerada, 2013). This view contends that, on the one hand, internships (paid or unpaid) are instrumental in developing employability and are a stepping stone to careers in particular industries, whilst at the same time it views unpaid internships in particular as potentially exploitative and a barrier to social mobility as disadvantaged graduates may be less likely to be able to forgo wages for any significant duration (Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). Implied within this it is assumed that unpaid internships do improve employability over not having completed one and that paying interns helps overcome issues of equality of access and social mobility presented by the financial implications of unpaid internships.

The findings challenge this view on two levels. Firstly, they reveal notable differences between paid and unpaid internships, with the latter not only being perceived as less beneficial, but also appearing to be little help in the graduate labour market and even potentially damaging (at least in the case of CAD and MCD graduates). And, secondly, they show that although those from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to do unpaid internships than their more privileged counterparts, it is the more beneficial, paid internships that they struggle to secure. Combined, these findings have implications for social mobility as they show that the patterns of advantage and disadvantage, already evident in the education system, extend well into the labour market.

After discussing the substantive findings in relation to the three areas of debate the chapter then moves on to discuss the implications of these findings in terms of practical implications, implications for research and for theory. The chapter then concludes by summarising the main findings and the contribution of the research.

8.1 Extent, nature, and perceived benefits of internships

As outlined in chapter two of this thesis, despite the level of interest in internships in the media and in public policy circles, there has been a notable lack of reliable quantitative evidence on the practice. There has been little quantitative evidence to

support claims about the prevalence of the practice (including in which sectors they are most commonplace), what form internships take, why graduates do internships, and what the perceived benefits are. The findings presented in this thesis address this gap using data from two sources: secondary data from a national survey of graduates six months after leaving a higher education course, and data from a bespoke survey of graduates from CAD and MCD subjects surveyed several years after graduation. Employing this data the research contributes to the gaps in the literature by providing quantitative evidence in four main areas: 1) extent of the practice; 2) practical features of internships (pay, hours and quality); 3) reasons for doing internships; and 4) perceived benefits. This section draws on data from both sources in relation to these areas in order to build a picture of the practice. Firstly, in relation to the extent of the practice and industries/subject areas where they are particularly common. Secondly, in relation to the practical features, motivations and level of tasks involved. And finally, in relation to emerging differences between paid and unpaid internships in terms of motivations, quality indicators and perceived benefits.

8.1.1 Extent of internships

The data suggest that internships have become a small but significant part of the graduate labour market. Data from the DLHE shows that of the 2011/12 graduating cohort at least 7,675 graduates were doing an internship six months after completing their course representing 2.5 per cent of those with work. This proportion was double for graduates of some subject areas such as mass communications and documentation, languages and related subjects, creative arts and design, and historical and philosophical studies. And participation in internships was particularly high in some industries and occupations, nearly all of which have been identified in the literature as being industries and occupations where the practice is becoming commonplace (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). Industries and occupations that, it could be argued, might be seen as glamorous and/or competitive. Although this level of engagement in internships is noteworthy it is not perhaps at the level estimated in some studies (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010) or that might be expected given the level of interest in the practice in the media and policy circles.

However, there are several reasons to expect that these figures are only part of the story and may underestimate participation in internships. Firstly, although the focus of this study is graduate internships some interns are not graduates. Secondly, the figures only include internships reported as a 'main' activity and there may be a number of graduates who engage in internships as a secondary job. Thirdly, despite efforts in this research to identify and capture internships reported as 'voluntary' positions, in order to avoid over counting all 'voluntary' positions in the public and third sector were not counted as internships in this analysis, even though both have been identified in the literature as sectors where internships are common. Finally, and most importantly, the figures from the DLHE only represent a snapshot of the situation at six months after finishing their course and many graduates are likely to be engaging in internships both before and after this specific time point.

Indeed, focussing on graduates from two of these areas, CAD and MCD, data from the bespoke CGCS survey suggests that by two to six years after graduation one quarter of those surveyed had engaged in at least one graduate internship. Although this proportion may be slightly higher than would be found in the wider population of CAD and MCD graduates, due to the slight overrepresentation of graduates with a first class degree who tend to be more likely to participate in internships, this still represents a significant proportion of graduates. Extrapolating from this proportion, if one was to assume that around a quarter of CAD and MCD first degree graduates from the 2011/12 graduating cohort engage in internships at some point in the first few years after graduation this would represent in the region of 10-11,000 graduates[1]. Extrapolating wider than these subjects would be unwise based solely on the information available here, given the variation in participation between subject areas. However, these sorts of numbers of estimated interns are probably closer to the numbers estimated in the evaluations of government-backed schemes (e.g. Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011) rather than those reported elsewhere (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010). The overestimation in the latter study is likely to be due to the overrepresentation of larger organisations covered by the CIPD survey (used as the basis of estimation), the type and sector of those organisations and disparities between respondents' hiring intentions and what they actually did. Whatever the precise figure, there is reason to assume that the number of internships is increasing.

[1] There was a total of 42,985 CAD and MCD qualifiers in 2010/11 ('HESA Student Record 2011/12').

Figures from the DLHE show that the number of self-defined interns grew from 6,245 for the 2011/12 cohort to 7,735 for the 2013/14 cohort, and these figures do not include interns who report their internship as 'voluntary work'. In order to get a fuller picture the analysis presented in this thesis would need to be replicated using the microdata for the most recent DLHE.

8.1.2 **Nature of internships**

Although there has been some quantitative research examining the forms internships take, in the UK these have largely been limited to non-representative employer surveys or evaluations of government-backed schemes, which may not be representative of the wider practice (e.g. CIPD, 2010a, 2010c; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011). In relation to the forms internships take and their features, the DLHE analysis presented in chapter six shows that for the majority (70 per cent) of those doing an internship as their 'main' job it was a full-time activity. Unpaid internships were much more likely than paid ones to be part-time (44 per cent compared to twelve per cent). However, this still means that the majority of respondents doing an unpaid internship at six months after graduation were working on a full-time basis indicating some considerable sacrifice in terms of time and effort. This is significant, as one of the main issues cited in the literature is that for those from less well-off backgrounds, inability to work unpaid or low paid for any significant length of time presents a potential barrier to certain key industries, thus limiting chances for social mobility (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). However, as has been shown in chapter seven, the relationship between class advantage, participation in internships and labour market outcomes is complex, as is discussed later in this chapter.

On the issue of pay, evidence from the DLHE suggests that unpaid internships may be more common than previously estimated. For 2011/12 HE leavers more than half (58 per cent) of those doing internships as a main job were unpaid. Previous studies had suggested that only around one-third or less were unpaid (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; CIPD, 2010b), and a recent study by the Sutton Trust using DLHE data for 2012/13 leavers estimated 31 per cent were unpaid (Sutton Trust, 2014). However, estimates in the former studies were based on: a survey of non-representative sample of employers; government supported schemes that may not necessarily be representative of wider practices;

and the latter study failed to take account of item non-response in the DLHE. Figures obtained from HESA by the current author suggest that the correct proportion of self-defined interns who were unpaid at six months after graduation was 44 per cent for the 2012/13 cohort and 39 per cent for the 2013/14 cohort. This does appear to suggest a slight decline in the proportion of self-defined interns that were unpaid in the 2011/12 cohort (50 per cent), which may be considered a positive move. However, these figures do not count interns who described their position as a 'voluntary' job and more detailed analysis would be needed to establish whether or not this decline is a 'real' decline in the proportion of all internships that are unpaid or just self-defined internships. One possibility that would need to be discounted is that employers might simply be increasingly calling internships 'voluntary'.

Data from the DLHE also shows that the proportion of unpaid internships, and levels of pay for those that are paid, varies considerably from sector to sector. Sectors and occupations that are more likely to be unpaid also tend to have lower wages for paid interns and are generally those sectors where internships are more common generally, with only one or two exceptions (e.g. advertising and marketing where although internships were relatively common they were slightly less likely to be unpaid than on average). These sectors and occupations are arguably glamorous and competitive such as the creative industries, broadcasting and the media, journalism, fashion, and PR. These findings tend to fit in with the view of internships expounded in much of the literature and media coverage of internships, and may reflect an oversupply of graduates from related subject areas relative to demand (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Frenette, 2013). This could either reflect lower demand for graduates relative to supply in these areas or simply different employment practices in these sectors. Although it is difficult to estimate hourly wages accurately using DLHE, data pay for paid interns appear to be more or less in line with what might be expected for those earning the NMW in sectors with a high incidence of unpaid internships and the living wage in sectors where unpaid internships were less common. Again this may reflect the attractiveness of some sectors and patterns of supply and demand for graduates.

Although the DLHE provides a reliable source of data on some aspects of graduates' early jobs, it is fairly limited in terms of providing detailed information on the quality of those jobs in terms of the sorts of tasks involved. And while the CGCS survey did ask respondents to give an indication of the extent to which they felt their jobs were interesting/challenging or routine/mundane too few respondents were still engaged in

internships at the time of the survey to enable analysis of this data. However, the DLHE does ask respondents to indicate whether their qualification was a 'formal requirement', just an 'advantage' or not needed in order to get the job. This, it could be argued, gives some idea of the level of qualification needed to perform tasks, and by extension is an indication of job level. On this measure, internships appear to do quite well with 40 per cent indicating that it was a requirement and a further 38 per cent indicating that it was an advantage. This was second only to fixed-term jobs of twelve months or longer. The fact that these latter types of jobs were the most likely to be taken because they fitted in with graduates' career plans' – second only to starting up their own business – suggests that they may represent entry level routes to graduate type jobs. And while nearly half of interns also said that their internship fitted their plans this was around the average for most other types of employment and many more interns also said that they took the job to gain/broaden their experience than found for other employment types. It could be argued that this fits in with the idea that internships are a way to get experience and are perhaps an extra step that some graduates take in order to 'audition' for or work towards a particular occupation or career goal (Smith, 2010; Shade and Jacobson, 2015).

8.1.3 Differences between paid and unpaid internships

When looking at indicators of job quality and reasons for taking their job some clear differences start to emerge between paid and unpaid internships. Graduates' qualifications, and qualification level, were much more likely to be a requirement for paid interns than they were for unpaid interns. In addition, paid interns were more likely than unpaid interns to say their position fitted their career plans and were less likely than unpaid interns to say it was to gain/broaden their experience (although both motivations were common for both types of interns). Similarly, data for CAD and MCD graduates surveyed in the CGCS suggest notable differences in the perceived benefits of paid and unpaid internships, with paid internships consistently being rated as better for developing industry-specific skills and knowledge, networks and career more generally. Indeed, unpaid internships were rated lower for developing each of these things than any other type of employment listed, and while paid internships were rated higher, permanent employment in the industry was generally preferred. In addition, in the CGCS survey those with experience of unpaid internships were much

less likely to say they had been ‘very useful’ in the development of their careers than those with experience of paid internships. These findings are significant, because despite reports that some unpaid internships involve routine and mundane tasks amounting to little more than exploitation of free labour (e.g. Frenette, 2013; Milburn, 2009; Perlin, 2012), the discourse in much of the literature, either explicit or implicit, and a view reflected by graduates and interns themselves is that any internship is better than no internship (e.g. CIPD, 2010b, 2015a; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

Taken together these findings suggest a sort of hierarchy in terms of job preferences with permanent and longer fixed-term positions most highly coveted, followed by paid internships and with unpaid internships the less preferred option. This statement may appear self-evident to some degree, but in the face of a lack of any real evidence to support the commonly propounded view that unpaid internships help develop employability, the fact that unpaid internships were consistently rated lower on career development and usefulness is noteworthy. This has implications for graduates and the labour market more generally as it calls into question the utility of unpaid internships for individuals and it highlights the importance of being able to access the better, paid opportunities. This underlines the importance of equality of access, particularly as these perceived differences appear to be borne out in the labour market. These issues are discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

8.2 Access, participation and social mobility

One of the main issues related to internships in the literature is that there are concerns that access to them is not always open and equal and that some groups may be less able to work for no or low pay for any significant period of time (Perlin, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Leonard et al., 2016). This is particularly problematic because internships are thought to help interns develop their employability and to get a foot in the door to key sectors, which potentially presents a barrier to social mobility (Milburn, 2009; Gerada, 2013). Although the extent to which internships, and unpaid internships in particular, really do help improve graduates’ employability is questionable, evidence from both the DLHE and the CGCS survey suggest that concerns about access are justified. This section first outlines the main findings from

the analysis of DLHE data on how graduates accessed their internships and then discusses the evidence for variation in participation among different groups. The implications of this for social mobility are then discussed later in the chapter.

8.2.1 How interns access internships

One of the concerns about internships is that they are often accessed through informal routes and that accessing the best opportunities may often be more about 'who you know than what you know' (Milburn, 2009). Evidence from the analysis of DLHE data appears to support this concern to some extent. Nearly one-quarter (23 per cent) of interns said that they found out about their internship through personal and family contacts and an additional seven per cent said that they had used professional networks. However, on the other hand many found out about their internships through more formal sources such as their university or college, the employers' website or a recruitment agency. Overall, just over half (52 per cent) found out about their internship through one of these more formal routes while a significant minority (35 per cent) used more informal routes (including speculative applications). The proportion using these more informal routes was higher than for most other forms of employment, but the proportion using personal and family contacts was no higher than for the self-employed, temps and fixed-term workers on shorter contracts. It would seem that to some extent the use of networks and personal contacts in order to access opportunities is not confined just to internships but is a wider feature of the graduate labour market. That being said, longer-term types of employment were less likely to be accessed through informal routes.

When comparing access routes for paid and unpaid internships, though, some notable differences begin to emerge, with unpaid internships being much more likely than paid internships to be accessed through informal routes, and personal contacts in particular. Paid internships were much more likely that unpaid ones to be accessed through formal routes, particularly through graduates' university/college or careers service. Combined with the findings discussed in the previous section this adds to the view that paid internships tend to be more formal in nature, as has been suggested in some of the literature (Milburn, 2009; Gerada, 2013). It also confirms concerns expressed in the literature that for many access to internships, and unpaid internships in particular, is through less formal routes implying that those who lack

the social capital may be at a disadvantage in accessing some opportunities (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009).

However, it is also worth noting that even with paid internships a significant proportion of graduates access opportunities using personal contacts and other informal routes. The DLHE analysis also revealed that methods of access also varied by grades and social class. The picture here is complex. However, the image that emerges is that those from more advantaged backgrounds were more likely to have accessed their internships through personal contacts, as were those with lower grades. And when comparing access to paid and unpaid internships for those from different backgrounds with different grades, it would appear that graduates were using personal contacts to access internships in cases where they were able to (e.g. because they had the social capital) or where they had to (e.g. because their grades made it harder to access opportunities any other way). These findings support a view of the graduate labour market where both cultural and social capital are important in accessing opportunities (Allen and Hollingworth, 2013; Allen, Quinn, Hollingworth and Rose, 2013), and also that patterns of social advantage and disadvantage extend into the labour market (Bathmaker et al, 2013). However, they also suggest that the importance of informal networks goes wider than just for unpaid internships, as many of those in paid internships and other forms of employment also relied on personal contacts in order to get the job. Threrefore, suggesting that class advantage and disadvantage is a wider systemic issue in the graduate labour market.

8.2.2 **Patterns of participation**

As noted above, and as outlined in chapter two, apart from concerns about access routes there are also concerns that those from less privileged backgrounds may be less able to forgo wages for the duration necessary to undertake an unpaid or low-paid internship (Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010). While there was evidence of unequal access in both the DLHE analysis and the CGCS, it did not always manifest in the way the above view would predict.

Evidence from the DLHE showed that interns tend to be younger, from more advantaged backgrounds, and were more likely to be doing an internship if they were from London or the South East of England, and indeed participation rates were higher among these groups. These findings fit in with the view of internships

presented in the literature with age, socio-economic background and geography appearing to confer some advantage in ability to engage in internships (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; DCMS, 2008). Contrary to the findings of previous studies though, those from black and minority ethnic groups were no less likely to engage in internships and in fact some were more likely to be doing an internship at the time of the survey. On the other hand, interns from black and minority ethnic backgrounds were more likely than white graduates to be unpaid, which suggests they may still face some disadvantage in accessing the best opportunities. Those from lower socio-economic groups were less likely to do internships in general, and were less likely to be doing unpaid internships in particular.

Subject studied, qualification obtained, grades and institution were also strongly related to participation in internships, with graduates from masters and first degree courses, those from research intensive institutions and those with higher grades being more likely to be doing internships. Further, interns with higher grades and/or from more research intensive institutions were more likely to be paid. These two latter findings would fit in with the idea of some sort of hierarchy of opportunities with paid internships being more competitive and sought after. However, by far the strongest factor related to participation was subject area of degree with those studying CAD and MCD subjects much more likely to be doing an internship six months after finishing their course. These subjects reflect areas where internships are thought be becoming a key feature in the graduate labour market and are the areas most often implicated in the literature.

However, the DLHE only provides a snapshot of the situation very early on in graduates' careers and so is only indicative of the situation at a very early stage. On the other hand, the analysis of CAD and MCD graduates from the CGCS survey provides a more detailed picture of two key groups of graduates at a point a bit further down the line. The findings of this analysis build on those from the DLHE analysis, with age, grades, reputation of HEI and parental experience of HE (a proxy for social class) all significantly related to the odds of having engaged in an internship within the first few years since leaving university. However, contrary to the view outlined at the start of this section, although less advantaged graduates were less likely to do unpaid internships when controlling for other factors (such as grades and league table score of institution) it was the more beneficial, paid opportunities that they were less able to access. This finding deserves further consideration, as the

conventional wisdom would suggest that it is the practice of unpaid internships that are problematic as those from less well-off backgrounds may be unlikely to be able to forgo wages for any notable period of time and that paying interns should overcome this barrier (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Gerada, 2013). However, this analysis suggests a slightly more nuanced picture.

At a bivariate level those from less advantaged backgrounds were less likely to do internships, paid or unpaid, but when controlling for other variables using multivariate analysis it was the paid opportunities in particular that less advantaged graduates found it harder to access. When considered in conjunction with the evidence discussed above that suggest that paid internships are harder to obtain and perceived to be better in terms of development, the fact that those from less advantaged backgrounds are less able to access the best opportunities, even when they have the same educational credentials, is problematic as it implies that the patterns of disadvantage already evident in the education system extend well into the graduate labour market. The reasons for this are hard to ascertain without further research. However, others have highlighted potential barriers related to lack of the right social networks, informational barriers and being less likely to have an understanding of what employers in certain professions or sectors are looking for (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Bathmaker et al., 2013; Allen et al., 2013). Of course, another possibility is that there may be a tendency among employers to simply employ people who display the desired tastes and mannerisms, or are more like themselves (Bourdieu, 1984).

Taken together these findings show that the factors related to participation in internships largely reflect practical considerations on the one hand (e.g. age and geography) and social and cultural capital on the other (e.g. grades, university and social class). It may be easier for younger graduates, who are likely to have fewer family and financial responsibilities, to undertake low paid or unpaid work and likewise for those who have a family home nearer locations where internships are concentrated. On the other hand, those with more sought after credentials such as higher grades, previous work placement experience or who studied at a more prestigious institution tend to be more successful in applying for competitive positions. These credentials could be seen as reflecting some of the ‘hard’ currencies of employability described by Brown and Hesketh (2004) while the fact that those from more advantaged backgrounds are more able to access the best opportunities may reflect better networks and social capital and/or that they are better able to

display other qualities that employers seek that may be related to social class, or other 'soft' currencies. Bathmaker et al. (2013) have already shown that those from more advantaged backgrounds were more aware of and able to 'play the game'. Whatever the precise mechanism, the fact that those from less advantaged backgrounds were less able to access the best opportunities, even when they had the requisite credentials and financial barriers were removed, has implications for social mobility because it suggests that they are being excluded from accessing certain key sectors, thus exacerbating patterns of socio-economic reproduction.

8.3 Labour market outcomes

One of the central claims in the literature, and arguably the primary aim of internships, is that they help improve individuals' employability and help them get a 'foot in the door' (Milburn, 2009; Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2009, 2015a). Indeed, this idea is reflected in the views of graduates and interns themselves who often see internships as a 'necessary step', a 'rite of passage' or as 'paying your dues' (Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Seibert and Wilson, 2013). This is a central plank in the 'dual view' of internships. However, when looking at the experiences of CAD and MCD graduates two to six years after graduation, although paid internships do help in terms of 'main' jobs and pay, there was no evidence that unpaid internships improved the labour market position of graduates. When controlling for other factors expected to be related to labour market success such as grades and reputation of institution (among others), unpaid interns were no more likely to have a creative or graduate level job several years after graduation than those who had no internship experience and actually earned less (all else being equal). This is contrary to the central claim highlighted in the literature and elsewhere that unpaid internships help graduates get a foot in the door and are a stepping stone to certain industries, and also raises questions as to who the practice really benefits (Milburn, 2009; GPCF, 2011, 2013). Although it is hard to say why graduates who had engaged in an unpaid internship earned less on average it could be due to a delayed start on the pay ladder, a weakened bargaining position when accepting a first paid position, or evidence of some kind of hierarchical sorting of graduates, with those with the highest cultural and social capital getting the best positions and those with slightly lower capital having to accept the less sought after, unpaid positions. In the latter situation having an unpaid internship on a CV might send out the signal that the

candidate might not possess the qualities necessary to obtain a paid position and may have a sort of scarring effect.

In the case of paid internships, although those with experience of a paid internship were no more likely to have a creative or graduate level job when looking across all their jobs they were more likely to have a graduate level or creative job as their 'main' job. In addition, those with experience of a paid internship tended to earn more two to six years after graduation, even when controlling for other factors such as grades and reputation of institution. When combined with the findings discussed previously in this chapter, with paid internships perceived as better for development and of a level more likely to require a higher level of qualification, this suggests that paid internships are seen as more valued by employers and individuals alike and are more instrumental in gaining quality employment (particularly for those seeking 'bureaucratic' careers). The fact that those with experience of paid internships tended to earn more afterwards lends weight to this theory. Although it is recognised that pay may not necessarily be the primary driver for all graduates, particularly among creative graduates (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010), it is does perhaps give an indication of employment level, which alongside the analyses using occupation data, provides some idea of relative labour market position.

Taken together, these findings lend weight to the idea of a hierarchical and positional labour market. Firstly, paid internships are more valued by graduates and are arguably harder to secure. Academic and labour market credentials such as placement experience help graduates to land both paid and unpaid internships, but social class is also a factor in obtaining the more valued paid opportunities, which in turn help graduates access the most sought after and highly paying jobs. Thus, sorting occurs at every stage of the transition from secondary education to employment and is based on not only qualifications and credentials, but also class-based attributes such as social capital and/or the ability to 'play the game' and 'package' one's self in a way that is attractive to employers (Bathmaker et al., 2013; Brown and Hesketh, 2004), many of whom are likely to be from middle class backgrounds themselves.

8.4 Overall discussion of findings

So far this chapter has discussed the findings from the current research in three discrete but interrelated sections reflecting the three research questions of the study. However, taken together these findings build a bigger picture that tells a wider story about the practice of internships and challenges the 'dual view' of internships that has been promulgated thus far in the literature. This section draws on the discussion of findings from the previous three sections in order to elucidate this bigger picture in relation to the role of internships in the graduate labour market. From this synthesis four substantive findings are outlined that contribute to three key debates in the sociology of employment literature, on: the nature and operation of the graduate labour market; lengthening and individualised transitions from education to employment linked to labour market change; and processes of socio-economic reproduction.

The first substantive finding relates to the incidence of internships in general and the prevalence of unpaid internships in particular. Internships appear to have become a significant feature of the graduate labour market, particularly in some industries or professions and for graduates of some subject areas, although they are perhaps less ubiquitous than some accounts would imply. Although it is hard to extrapolate too far based on the data presented here, the overall incidence of internships found in the data was more in line with estimates presented in some accounts (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011) rather than others (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; CIPD, 2010b). In addition, the proportion of internships that was unpaid was found to be much higher than previously estimated. Data from the DLHE survey for the 2011/12 graduating cohort showed that more than half of interns were unpaid at six months after finishing their course, a proportion that was much higher for some industries, occupations and for graduates of some subject areas. This compares to estimates that only around a third to two-fifths of internships are unpaid in previous studies (e.g. Sutton Trust, 2014; CIPD, 2010b; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011). Although there may be some evidence to suggest the practice of unpaid internships may be on the decline, as noted previously, further investigation is needed to confirm this and a significant proportion still appear to be unpaid.

Internships are thought to help labour market entrants develop employability and to 'get a foot in the door' to careers in a range of key industries and professions (GPCF, 2013; Milburn, 2009). In this respect they can be viewed as an emerging pathway in

the transition from education to employment in a labour market where pathways are less certain and the responsibility for developing employability and navigating pathways has shifted from employers and institutions to individuals (Smith, 2010; Heinz, 2009; Thompson, 2013). However, the research presented in this thesis suggests that the 'stepping stone' view may not always be borne out in practice. The second main substantive finding is that it is clear that not all internships are equal. Although there is likely to be some variation within types of internships, the data suggest that unpaid internships are much less beneficial for individuals than paid internships or, arguably, other forms of working. Graduates' HE qualifications are less likely to be a requirement for unpaid internships relative to paid internships and among CAD and MCD graduates they tend to be rated as less beneficial for development and appear to be no real help in the graduate labour market. Given the lack of evidence of any real benefit to individuals' employability over and above that afforded from any other form of employment or work experience this raises questions as to who the practice really benefits. The evidence on the practice of unpaid internships here would appear to fit the 'exploitation of free' model rather than the 'pipeline' or 'stepping stone' model (Frenette, 2013; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

The third key substantive finding was that while paid internships do seem to help graduates in the labour market, unpaid internships do not. Graduates with experience of an unpaid internship were no more likely to have a graduate level or a creative job than those with no internship experience and actually tended to earn less in the short to medium term. This is of particular concern given the prevalence of unpaid internships and challenges one of the main planks in the 'dual view' of internships. While a number of studies highlight the potentially exploitative nature of unpaid internships, concerns about their potential impact on social mobility revolve around the assumption that even an unpaid internship will advantage interns over not having done one (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). This assumption is even reflected in the views of graduates and interns themselves (Siebert and Wilson, 2013). However, the fact that unpaid internships do not appear to improve graduates' chances of having a creative or graduate level job, and may in fact lead to lower wages in the short to medium term, challenges this assumption, at least among creative and mass communications graduates.

The fourth substantive finding from the analysis presented here relates to the question about participation patterns and the role internships play in relation to social

mobility and/or socio-economic reproduction. It has been suggested that paid internships may help overcome class disadvantage in access to opportunities and ultimately to certain industries/professions, and that it is the financial implications and informal recruitment practices associated with unpaid internships that present a barrier to social mobility (Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). However, the evidence presented here suggest this may not always be the case. Findings from the CGCS showed that graduates from less advantaged backgrounds were less likely to participate in internships in general, but the evidence suggests that, when controlling for other factors such as grades and institution reputation, it is the paid opportunities, rather than the unpaid ones, that those from less well-off backgrounds have difficulty securing. Thus, revealing that the class advantage already evident in the education system appears to continue into the graduate labour market. Even after removing potential financial barriers, when controlling for grades, placement experience and institution attended, those from more advantaged backgrounds are still more able to access the better opportunities.

The reasons for this are unclear based solely on the evidence presented in this thesis, but it could be due to: differences in social capital and access to the right networks (Allen et al., 2013); differences in awareness of and ability to 'play the game' and present their 'self' in a way that is attractive to employers (Bathmaker et al., 2013; Brown and Hesketh, 2004); or simply due to unconscious bias in selection processes that favours candidates that reflect the tastes and tendencies of recruiters, meaning that they tend to recruit job entrants that are more like themselves – habitus, or embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). This presents a challenge to the 'orthodox' or 'conventional' view of the graduate labour market as a meritocracy because, although ability (or rather educational achievement) – exhibited through grades and reputational value of institution – do help graduates access internships and to secure more favourable labour market outcomes, those from more advantaged backgrounds were more able to access the better, paid internships, which in turn help them in the graduate labour market. These findings contribute to debates about the nature and functioning of the graduate labour market by providing evidence that graduates are positioned on factors other than educational credentials and ability, thus supporting the 'alternative' view of the graduate labour market (Tholen, 2012; Brown et al., 2014),

Contrary to the meritocracy thesis, the fact that paid internships appear to be better for graduates' employability and that those with superior cultural capital, and social

capital, as well as the best credentials, have better access to the best opportunities might be seen as further evidence of a positional labour market where it is not so much what you know that is important but rather where you are in the hierarchy on a range of factors that matters (Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Brown et al., 2014). Paid internships appear to be a more highly valued credential in the scramble for jobs, than unpaid internships, and it may be that a 'proper' paid position may be more highly prized than that (as some of the non-interns may have gone straight into graduate jobs). Support for this might be seen in the fact that a permanent job in the sector was nearly always viewed as best for the development of skills, knowledge, networks and career more generally, and in the fact that in the DLHE analysis it was longer fixed-term jobs that were the most likely to require a higher level qualification. It could be argued that this stands to reason because if someone has already had a relevant job without 'intern', 'voluntary' or 'trainee' in the title, then this may be seen as a safer bet and may confer a sense that the individual may already have been seen as a cut above in securing that job in the first place. Conversely, having had an unpaid position may signal being placed lower down the hierarchy relative to having had a paid position. In other words, it may be that those with the best credentials, both in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' currencies, may go straight into more traditional graduate jobs and graduate schemes, those with the next highest levels of currencies of employability get the paid internships and then those who are left are faced with the choice of doing an unpaid internship or choosing to do something else.

The second area of debate to which the findings contribute relates to theories about changing transitions from education to employment that might be seen as linked to labour market change. Theorists have argued that a number of changes in the labour market have led to an eroding of the traditional pathways from education to employment, such that young people increasingly face lengthening and individualised transitions, often with uncertain outcomes (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009, 2011). The findings presented in this thesis fit in with this view. The fact that so many graduates engage in internships, even where the benefits are clearly uncertain, suggests that they are taking it into their own hands to develop their employability and find a route into employment. Similarly, the fact that so many employers offer such positions without necessarily offering a job at the end of it is suggestive of a 'try before you buy' culture whereby responsibility for training and development has shifted from employers to individuals, consistent with ideas about increasing flexibilisation (Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2013).

The third area of debate that this thesis contributes to relates to debates about socio-economic reproduction and the processes by which patterns of advantage and disadvantage are maintained and perpetuated. Although the findings show that academic ability and credentials do play their part, the fact that those from more advantaged backgrounds were more able to access the best opportunities – even when financial barriers were removed and when controlling for grades and university attended – suggests that social class still plays a significant role in determining outcomes. Thus, providing evidence the classed patterns of advantage and disadvantage already evident in the education system extend well into the graduate labour market, as those with dominant economic, social and cultural capital appear more able to access the best opportunities (Roberts, 2009; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984). Others have noted how middle class students and graduates deploy capitals in order to engage in work placements, and extracurricular activities as a means to maintain and extend their position in 'the game' (e.g. Tomlinson, 2008; Tholen et al., 2013; Allen et al., 2013). The data presented here fits in with this view, with evidence of graduates seeking to extend their advantage by engaging in both work placements while studying as well as graduate internships.

8.5 Limitations

Having set out and discussed the main findings from the research, it is worth noting here some of the limitations of the research. The limitations can be seen as falling under two main areas. Firstly, in terms of the practical limitations of the two sources of quantitative data used in the study. And secondly, in terms of the limitations of quantitative research more broadly.

As noted in chapter five, although the DLHE provides reliable and generalisable data on the early employment situation of graduates there are four main limitations in terms of what it can tell us about the practice of internships. The first two related limitations are that: a) the DLHE only asks respondents to provide details on their 'main' activity, and b) the question is ambiguous about how 'main' activity should be defined. This probably leads to some undercounting of internships that are either part-time, unpaid, or otherwise considered to be a secondary activity. The third limitation is in the way internships and 'voluntary work' are presented in the employment basis question. The analysis revealed that, on inspection, a number of

graduates who indicated that their work was ‘voluntary work’ appeared to be working in sectors and occupations not normally associated with voluntary work. Although an attempt was made in the analysis to separate these out into the wider definition of internships used in the analysis, it is likely that some who remained coded as ‘voluntary’ were in fact interns in one way or another. All of these limitations are likely to lead to a certain amount of undercounting of internships. The final limitation of the DLHE is that it only captures the employment situation of interns at six months after leaving their course. As such it is unable to tell us about internships that people engage in after this point or about the potential outcomes of internships. It may be possible to examine these issues using the LDLHE when the survey for the 2012/13 cohort comes out, in late 2017, as it should include the question wording changes that allow for capturing internships. However, this will depend upon whether the survey includes questions that capture activities that graduates have been engaged in in the interceding years. Currently the survey only captures details about current jobs and periods of unemployment since graduation.

In terms of the CGCS there are four main limitations in terms of what the data can tell us about internships. The first of these relates to the chosen survey methodology, in terms of response rate and the difficulties of achieving good response rates among online surveys and graduate surveys conducted a significant period after graduation, and in terms of the level of engagement with the questions. The response rate for the survey, based on the information available, was quite low at eight per cent. As noted earlier, previous research has shown that a low response rate does not necessarily mean the sample is not representative and increasing response rates does not always lead to a more representative sample (Keeter et al., 2000; Meterko et al., 2015; Curtin et al., 2000). The key question in cases where response rates are low, is whether or not the sample is representative of the target population in terms of key characteristics. As discussed in chapter five, the sample was broadly representative of the wider population of CAD and MCD graduates on most personal and study characteristics. However, there was some overrepresentation of graduates with a first class degree, graduates from the most recent cohort, and slight underrepresentation of graduates from London. It is possible that the overrepresentation of those with higher grades may lead to some overestimation of the incidence of internships at the aggregate level, but on the other hand this might have been countered by the underrepresentation of graduates from London. However, whilst it is worth noting these differences when looking at overall estimates of participation in internships and incidence of graduate level jobs, for example, these potential biases should be

overcome by the use of multivariate techniques, which estimate the individual effect of each variable when controlling for other variables in the model.

Apart from questions about response rates it should be noted that another potential weakness of web surveys, and self-completion surveys more generally, can be lower levels of engagement with the questions themselves, compared to traditional methods such as telephone and face-to-face surveys, with respondents more likely to answer “don’t know” and answering questions in a superficial manner (e.g. Heerwegh and Looseveldt, 2008). Also, it can be hard to be sure who has answered the survey and questions cannot be followed up or probed (Bryman, 2016). While it is important to recognise these potential weaknesses in the methodology, respondents to the semantic pilot reported finding the survey platform used in the CGCS survey quite engaging. In addition, responses to a number of mixed-mode surveys indicate that respondents increasingly prefer to complete surveys online when the option is available to them (e.g. Pollard et al., 2013; Ball et al., 2010), and in cases where questions may be socially sensitive web surveys can actually reduce social desirability bias and can increase accuracy (Kreuter, Presser and Tourangeau, 2008).

The second and third limitations relate to the level of detail that could be captured on internships by the questionnaire. Although questions were included to capture details about any internships graduates were doing at the time of the survey, such as level of tasks involved and size of employer, too few graduates were still engaged in internships at the time of the survey to enable analysis of these questions. In addition, in order to keep the survey short and relatively quick to complete it was not possible to ask details about graduates’ previous internships, other than broad questions about number of paid and unpaid internships and how useful they had been overall. These data limitations of the survey restrict the level of detail the analysis was able to go into in examining the nature of internships. However, combined with findings from the DLHE the survey allowed the research to build a general picture of internships and the role they play in the labour market. The final limitation of the survey was the relatively narrow focus of the survey itself on CAD and MCD graduates, which meant that it was unable to examine the experiences and outcomes of graduates from other subjects. However, the two subject areas were selected because they were two areas that were found to have a high incidence of internships in the DLHE analysis and are also areas where there was growing concern about internships in the literature. Although focusing the survey on these two

areas limits the amount it can tell us about the wider practice, having a relatively narrow focus meant that the questionnaire could be tailored to suit the two subject areas and was instrumental in encouraging participation from HEIs.

The final wider limitation of the research relates to the choice to limit the methodology to the use of quantitative methods. Although the use of quantitative methods allows examination of the incidence of internships, patterns of participation and the extent to which certain outcomes are borne out in practice, it is recognised that these methods are limited in the extent to which they are able to capture the meanings individuals give to their actions and the extent to which certain outcomes can be explained. However, given that there are a number of qualitative studies that have provided valuable insights into the practice and that the gaps in the literature are predominantly quantitative in nature, it was felt that a more quantitative approach would be complementary to this body of literature.

8.6 Implications of the research

The implications of these findings, and of the research more generally, can be seen as falling into four main areas: implications for policy and practice, implications for theory, implications for methodology, and implications for further research. This section addresses each of these in turn, before moving on to outline the main conclusions and contribution of the research.

8.6.1 Implications for policy and practice

The findings of the research clearly have a number of implications for policy and practice. Firstly, the fact that unpaid internships appear to be of little benefit to individuals has implications for a number of different stakeholders. For individuals it highlights the importance of securing paid opportunities after leaving university and avoiding unpaid ones. Many graduates may feel that they are not in a position to be choosey. However, the fact that many non-interns did manage to find a way to get creative or graduate level jobs suggests that it is possible to find alternative ways to gain relevant or transferable experience that may help in the graduate labour market. This would fit in with findings from the *Creative Graduates, Creative* Futures study

where there were many examples of creative graduates finding various ways of combining different types of employment in order to be able to use their knowledge and creativity (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010; Ball, Pollard, Stanley and Oakley, 2010). For HEIs and careers advisors this finding reinforces the need to encourage paid internships and discourage, or even better cease to support, unpaid graduate internships, as they may not always have the expected benefits for employability. In addition, the finding that unpaid internships do not help graduates to get better jobs and may actually damage their earning ability serves as a wake-up call for employers, as by offering unpaid internships they may not be doing graduates the favour they think they are.

The second practical implication relates to the finding that it is not just a question as to whether internships are unpaid or paid that presents a problem for issues of access and social mobility. The fact that, after controlling for other factors such as grades and institution reputation, graduates from less well-off backgrounds were still less able to secure the better, paid internships, suggests that there is a wider problem of social exclusion in the graduate labour market. This has implications for employers, as if they are serious about social justice they perhaps need to take a look at their recruitment practices in order to make sure there are no conscious or unconscious processes that act to disadvantage those from lower socio-economic groups. For HEIs and other educational institutions, the possibility that these patterns of advantage and disadvantage may in part be down to informational barriers and/or lack of awareness about, and ability to, 'play the game' and package one's self in a way that is attractive to employers, perhaps suggests that awareness of these aspects of how the labour market operates should be built in to education at an earlier stage. At the same time, the fact that for working class graduates their university or college was a key source of information for accessing internships shows what an important role HEIs have in promoting opportunities, and also underlines their responsibility in ensuring that they promote the right kinds of opportunities.

Finally, the above findings have implications for government policy on internships. Currently government policy appears to have taken a fairly hands-off approach. They appear to have been relatively reticent to stamp out unpaid internships, and at times have appeared to encourage them, because they assume they will still be beneficial to individuals and they have not wanted to discourage employers from offering entry-level opportunities. However, the findings here suggest that unpaid internships are of little benefit to individuals and have a negative effect on earning power, possibly due

to signalling effects. Stamping down on unpaid internships may help reduce any potential signalling effects attributable to working unpaid. Although this will not overcome the issue of inequality of access, this is likely to improve the situation of interns, both from a financial perspective but also in terms of employability. Addressing the issue of inequality of access to paid internships, and to the best jobs generally, is hard to legislate against as it is likely to be a wider sociocultural problem. However, awareness among policy circles of the fact that patterns of social advantage and disadvantage run deeper than just the surface features of the labour market may go some way to informing policy choices on a wide range of issues, such as employment and welfare policy. Policy needs to be based on a recognition that labour market disadvantage is brought about by systemic features of the labour market itself, not just by inequalities in access to the means to accumulate credentials in a 'meritocratic' labour market.

8.6.2 Implications for theory

The research has implications for theory on two levels. On a practical level the findings have implications for debates in three main areas: debates about the nature of the graduate labour market and how it operates, debates about labour market change and transitions from education into employment, and debates about socio-economic reproduction. On a more theoretical level, it could be argued that the research has wider implications for conceptualisations about the relationship between socially constructed discourse and what actually transpires in the course of daily action.

First, the fact that paid internships appear to be better for developing employability and that it is these opportunities in particular that those from less advantaged backgrounds found it harder to access challenges the meritocracy thesis of the 'conventional' view of the graduate labour market. The conventional view would predict that access to the best opportunities would depend upon academic and other credentials. However, while academic credentials were found to help graduates access internships and helped graduates in the labour market, the fact that more privileged graduates were more able to access the better opportunities challenges this view, instead supporting the 'alternative view' of a 'positional conflict' (Tholen, 2012; Brown et al., 2014). Although in theory any relevant work experience, paid or unpaid, should be a valued credential in the labour market, the findings here reveal

that not all internships are equal. Paid internships appear to be a more valued credential in the graduate labour market and position paid interns above unpaid interns in the scramble for jobs. In addition, the fact that additional credentials, over and above degree classification, such as league table score of institution, work placement experience and paid internships (in the case of 'main' job) were significantly related to chances of having a graduate level job fits in with the idea of credential inflation with graduates increasingly seeking other ways to improve their position in the graduate labour market (Ware, 2015a, 2015b; Brown et al., 2014).

Second, the research has implications in relation to theories of labour market change and transitions from education to employment. Firstly, the level of participation in internships, particularly among CAD and MCD graduates, can be seen as evidence of lengthening transitions into employment and of a shift in the responsibility for developing work-related competencies from employers to individuals (Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2013). In addition, the fact that despite their best efforts many graduates who make attempts to develop their employability, particularly through unpaid internships, struggle to improve their position relative to others, can be seen as evidence of the individualised and uncertain nature of labour market transitions, and that slow-track transitions are no longer unproblematic (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2011). Similarly, the fact that those from more advantaged backgrounds were more able to access the better opportunities fits in with the idea that these individualised pathways may be more suited to some people than others (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009). Finally, the apparent increasing use of internships, which are often temporary in nature, combined with the fact that it was longer fixed-term positions rather than permanent positions that were the most likely to require a higher level of qualification, might be seen as evidence that employers are increasingly cautious about committing to labour market entrants longer term. This can be seen as fitting in with views of the increasing flexibilisation and labour market insecurity (e.g. Thompson, 2013; Kalleberg, 2011).

Third, the findings have implications for theories of socio-economic reproduction and the processes by which those from the dominant classes act to cement their position of advantage. The fact that even when financial barriers are removed and grades and institution prestige are taken into account those from privileged backgrounds are more able to access the better opportunities reveals that the patterns of advantage and disadvantage already evident in the education system extend well into the labour market (Roberts, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

On a more theoretical level, the findings have implications for conceptualisations of the relationship between the realms of socially constructed knowledge and of everyday patterns of events (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Giddens, 1986). The fact that the findings challenge the commonly held 'dual view' of internships suggests that what actually transpires in the daily course of events is perhaps less important than what people think happens in terms of guiding human action, and that there is not necessarily a close resemblance between the two. It is quite conceivable that the majority of employers think that by offering graduates unpaid internships they are doing them a favour, providing experience that will help them in the graduate labour market. Similarly, graduates probably assume that undertaking an unpaid internship will in fact improve their labour market position relative to those who do not do an internship. However, this might often not be what actually transpires in practice. These views may persist, even though there are commonly held concerns that many unpaid internships may involve routine or mundane tasks with little developmental benefit, they are still assumed to be of help. This might perhaps be seen as an example of the sometimes paradoxical nature of socially shared knowledge and understandings. However, the fact that what people perceive to be the case may often not reflect what happens in the daily course of action might be seen as evidence of the primacy of socially constructed knowledge. It could be argued that discourse is not necessarily a reflection of some sort of objective 'reality', rather socially constructed and intersubjective reality guides human action and then events may or may not end up fitting that intersubjective reality. That is not to say that institutions and social structures have any less of a 'real' impact on people's everyday lives. On the contrary, the deeply ingrained and shared nature of socially constructed structures means that they guide and constrain patterns of everyday action and individuals have little power to change them on their own.

8.6.3 Implications for methodology

In terms of the implications for methodology, these can be seen as falling into three main areas. The first area relates to issues around defining, capturing and measuring internships in surveys. The second relates to practical learning points related to the survey methodology. And the third area relates to implications at a theoretical level relating to the relationship between conceptual framework and methodology.

In the first area, chapter two proposes a way to distinguish graduate internships from other types of work-related experiences. It is argued that graduate internships can be defined by their aims and can be distinguished from voluntary work, carried out for charitable or altruistic reasons. They also have slightly different financial and employability implications to work placements carried out whilst at university or as part of a course. In addition, in terms of capturing graduate internships in surveys, from inspection of DLHE data it was clear that a number of graduates who reported their main job as 'voluntary work' were not doing jobs normally associated with voluntary work and might more normally be considered internships. This is likely to be at least partly due to the practice of employers calling internships 'voluntary' positions in order to get around NMW regulations. However, the current research has proposed a definition that can be used to identify internships in the DLHE using SOC and SIC data as well as responses on basis of employment. On the other hand, the question wording used in the CGCS worked well in distinguishing internships from what might normally be called voluntary work. It was in response to feedback from respondents during the semantic pilot that refinements were made to the questions relating to previous and current employment to distinguish between the two different employment types. This was achieved by adjusting the order of response categories and by specifying that voluntary work related to work for a charity or government body. Guidance to this effect might be useful for distinguishing internships from voluntary work in future rounds of the DLHE.

Two other elements that worked well in the CGCS were the questions on previous activities and current work details. The previous activities questions provided a simple and effective way of quickly capturing the different sorts of activities graduates had engaged in since finishing their course. Currently the LDLHE only captures graduates' current activity, periods of unemployment since leaving university and additional study. LDLHE responses can be linked to graduates' previous DLHE response at six months after graduation, but work activities engaged in during the intervening years are not captured. This means internships, or any other work activities, engaged in during this period are not captured. Similarly, the current work details section of the CGCS proved an effective way of capturing the often complex and diverse work patterns of CAD and MCD graduates. This is important for graduates from these subjects, particularly as 40 per cent of CGCS respondents had more than one work activity, but is likely to be increasingly important for graduates of many other subject areas. Again, in only capturing details on one 'main' job the

DLHE and LDLHE are likely to fail to capture a certain level of complexity in graduates' working patterns.

The second area of methodological implications relate to the process of the CGCS survey itself. In terms of the sampling and contacting method used in the survey there were several learning points for future research. The sampling method used proved an effective way to overcome ethical and practical issues in relation to surveying a target population to whom you do not have direct access. By engaging institutions it was possible to get them to sample and contact participants directly themselves. There are two elements that are critical to this. The first is that the sampling method and eligibility criteria should be as clear and simple to execute as possible, and that the process should not present an overly onerous task for those performing it. A lot of work went into liaising with sampling contacts prior to the survey in order to minimise the amount of effort required from sampling contacts. This is critical, as without their help the survey would not have been possible and this was an additional task that was on top of their normal workload.

Response rates varied considerably from institution to institution. At least part of this was down to the quality of the contact details retained by institutions. Sampling contacts from some institutions described how they put in a considerable amount work in order to get students to update their contact details with sensible email addresses that they were likely to keep hold of for a long time, and others reported being very active in maintaining links with their alumni long after they leave university. Other institutions were not so active in these regards. However, another factor in the variability between the response rates of institutions reported in the methodology was because some institutions were unable to provide sample feedback on the number of received or unreceived emails. Some HEIs used an email marketing service in order to contact their graduates. By using these services they were able to easily provide details on the number of emails that were unreceived due to email addresses that were either inaccurate or were inactive, thus enabling some estimation of the proportion of emails that represented true non-response. For institutions not using these kinds of service feeding back the number of emails that had been returned as undeliverable would have required a significant amount of effort on their part and so response rates appeared lower than they really were for these institutions.

The final practical learning point in relation to the CGCS survey was the importance of using an engaging survey platform and of keeping the survey brief in order to

encourage completion. The survey platform used in the survey was fully cross platform, was customisable in terms of design and themes and used an interactive style that had the feel of a conversation rather than that of filling in a form. Respondents in the semantic pilot commented on how the online survey seemed engaging and relevant and kept them interested encouraging completion. On the other hand, despite the live pilot only taking around 15-20 minutes to complete it was clear from the rate of non-completion that this was too long for some people. By reducing the time taken to complete the survey to nine to 15 minutes the completion rate increased from 13 per cent to 29 to 51 per cent (depending on institution). This suggests that around 15 minutes may be about the limit for this kind of online survey.

In terms of more theoretical implications for methodology, drawing upon common themes within several conceptual frameworks, chapter five argued for a theoretical approach that sees quantitative and qualitative research methods as complementary lines of enquiry. Drawing on the idea of the intersubjective and shared nature of the social world, as well as conceptions about how structural aspects of social life are instantiated through joint processes of action, the approach put forward provides a framework that positions individuals within an institutional framework and encourages attention to the individual and structural aspects of social life. Although others, from various theoretical frameworks, have argued that both quantitative and qualitative methods of enquiry need not be exclusive, often in social research there is a tendency for researchers to either retreat into one camp or another, or simply elide questions of ontology and epistemology altogether. In relation to internships, although qualitative studies have provided insights into the practice, ultimately, questions have remained about the extent to which individual experiences are borne out in practice. The current research has helped contribute to this gap by providing the quantitative data needed to challenge previously held misconceptions in the public discourse of the ‘dual view’. This contribution bears evidence to the complementarity between the contributions of quantitative and qualitative lines of enquiry.

8.6.4 Implications for further research

Although the current research provides a more generalisable picture of internships than has previously been put forward in the literature, particularly in relation to the

experience of CAD and MCD graduates, a number of questions remain about the practice that require further research.

Firstly, the research provides a detailed investigation of participation patterns and purported outcomes for internships among creative and mass communication graduates. However, further research is needed see whether these findings are transferable to other sectors and/or graduates from other subject areas. Whilst there are likely to be some commonalities between different sectors, particularly where internships are a relatively new phenomenon, there are also likely to be some differences due to different recruitment practices and different labour market conditions in those sectors. It could be that in some sectors unpaid internships are more valued as a labour market credential and/or may be used more as an extended interview or probationary period. However, further focused quantitative research is needed to investigate this. The DLHE analysis highlights a number of other subject areas and industries where internships are common and/or with different balances of paid and unpaid internships. The analysis presented in chapter seven goes some way to pointing to potential subject areas for further research of this nature.

In addition, although the research provides evidence of patterns of advantage and disadvantage in the graduate labour market, the adopted methodology does not allow detailed analysis about the causes and mechanisms for these patterns. For example, are they due to informational barriers related to awareness of and access to opportunities, differences in graduates' ability to 'play the game' and knowledge on how to present their 'self' in ways that are prized by employers, or is it simply that employers are consciously or subconsciously inclined to recruit aspirants that reflect their tastes and tendencies? Similarly, although the research has uncovered evidence that would tend to fit in with the 'exploitation' view of unpaid internships more than the 'stepping stone' or 'pipeline' view more research is needed to investigate the motivations of employers in relation to their use of internships and to confirm whether there really has been a shift in expectation, moving the responsibility for developing labour market entrants from employers to individuals. Qualitative research with employers, former interns and wider workers in the sector would go some way to investigating these questions. Quantitative research may then be useful in establishing to what extent these patterns are played out in practice.

In addition, although there is some evidence of some sort of hierarchy of opportunities in the findings of this research, the data is unable to provide a great deal of insight into the way in which sorting occurs in access to these opportunities,

other than to suggest that it is based on more than just educational credentials. For example, is it simply about social class and habitus or is it related to more nebulous attributes such as soft credentials or 'talent'? These sorts of characteristics are notoriously hard to measure using quantitative data of the kind used in this study. However, qualitative research of the kind suggested above may go some way to addressing this question.

Finally, as noted previously in this chapter, data from the DLHE for more recent cohorts suggests that although the number of internships may be increasing the proportion of these that are unpaid may be declining, at least among self-defined interns at six months after graduation. More research would be needed to confirm whether this pattern represents a genuine decline in the practice of unpaid internships. As this research has shown, a considerable number of internships are reported as 'voluntary work' in the DLHE, therefore potentially hiding the true number of unpaid internships at six months after graduation. Also, as the DLHE is only a snapshot of the situation at six months after completing their course the survey does not provide any data on participation in internships, paid or unpaid, after this time point.

8.7 Conclusion

This thesis has examined the role internships play in the graduate labour market. It has provided much needed generalisable quantitative evidence about the practice that has so far been lacking in the academic and policy literature on internships. The research provides four substantive findings about the practice of graduate internships, which together contribute to three key debates in the sociology of employment literature, and overall contributes a much more detailed and nuanced understanding of the role graduate internships play in the graduate labour market.

The first substantive finding is that internships were found to be a small but significant part of the graduate labour market but are particularly common in some sectors and subject areas. While it is difficult to extrapolate much beyond the coverage of the current research, the findings would indicate that while internships are a growing part of the graduate landscape they are perhaps less ubiquitous than some accounts would have it (e.g. CIPD, 2010b; Lawton and Potter, 2010). In

addition, unpaid internships were found to be much more common than previously thought with more than half of internships at six months after graduation being unpaid. And even more common in some industries, occupations and subject areas. This compares to previous estimates that put the proportion that were unpaid at around one third of all internships (e.g. CIPD, 2010b; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Sutton Trust, 2014). The second substantive finding is that there was clear evidence that not all internships are equal. Clear differences were found between paid and unpaid internships in terms of access, motivations, quality and perceived (and actual) benefits. This latter finding provides evidence of a hierarchy of opportunities with paid internships being more formal and desirable than unpaid ones.

Despite reports in the literature of some unpaid internships involving routine and mundane tasks with little developmental benefit (e.g. Perlin, 2012; Frenette, 2013), most accounts assume (implicitly or explicitly) that they will still improve employability relative to not participating in an internship. Indeed, concerns about social mobility are predicated on the idea that less well-off graduates may be excluded from certain occupations or industries because they cannot afford to do them (Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009; Leonard et al., 2016). This ‘double-edged’ nature of internships that is present in much of the discourse reflects what has been termed the ‘dual view’ in this thesis. However, the third main substantive finding of this research challenges this assumption. Although there was evidence that paid internships do indeed help graduates to get a creative or graduate job as a ‘main’ job, there was no evidence that unpaid internships have the same impact. After controlling for other factors, such as grades and university reputation, unpaid interns were no more likely to have a creative or graduate job two to six years after graduation than non-interns, and in fact tended to earn less on average (all else being equal).

The fourth main substantive finding relates to issues around participation. As noted above, concerns in the literature around participation and social mobility usually revolve around concerns that unpaid internships exclude those without the contacts or financial resources. Paid internships are seen as unproblematic because of the removal of financial barriers and because they are more likely to involve more formal recruitment practices (Gerada, 2013; Milburn, 2009; Leonard et al. 2016). However, the findings presented here question such assumptions. Evidence from the DLHE revealed that age, geography, grades, prestige of institution, ethnicity and social class were all related to participation in internships, confirming concerns highlighted in the literature (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). The analysis of the

CGCS confirmed these findings to some extent. However, whereas the literature had suggested that it was unpaid internships that are a particular issue in terms of access for disadvantaged groups and that paid internships are less problematic, the analysis of the CGCS found that after controlling for other factors (such as grades and institution reputation) it is the better, paid internships that less privileged graduates struggle to secure. This is particularly concerning because it is the paid internships that appear to be of more help in the graduate labour market. Thus revealing that patterns of advantage and disadvantage persist well into the graduate labour market.

On their own each of these findings make a unique contribution to the literature on internships by providing reliable and generalisable evidence that has so far been lacking. For example, findings from the DLHE analysis and the CGCS give some idea of the extent of the practice and suggest that some estimates are likely to be more realistic than others (Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011; Lawton and Potter, 2010). Further, the findings show that previous estimates of the prevalence of unpaid internships significantly underestimated the extent of the practice (e.g. Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; CIPD, 2010b; Sutton Trust, 2014), thus totally underestimating the scale of the problem and potential exploitation. The findings on access routes and participation reinforce concerns raised in the literature about potential disadvantage faced by some in terms of social capital and networks (e.g. Milburn, 2009; Leonard et al., 2016; Shade and Jacobson, 2015; Siebert and Wilson, 2013) and show it to be a problem of some magnitude, whilst also highlighting that this may be a wider issue than just internships. Rather than supporting the 'overcoming disadvantage in networks' view (e.g. GPCF, 2013), these findings fit in more with the 'vicious circle' view of internships (Siebert and Wilson, 2013). Finally, the findings on the outcomes of internships reveal that, contrary to assumptions implied in the literature, unpaid internships appear to be of little use in terms of improving the labour market position of graduates (at least in the case of CAD and MCD graduates). Most of the literature to date has assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, that unpaid internships help graduates 'get a foot in the door' and are a 'stepping stone' towards successful careers, which is why concerns about access to them are so controversial (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Leonard et al., 2016; Shade and Jacobson, 2015). However, these findings challenge that assumption and show it to be unsubstantiated.

However, the main contributions of this thesis arise from the synthesis of the above findings in terms of elucidating a wider picture of the practice of internships and how

they fit within their institutional context. This picture challenges the ‘dual view’ of internships, which holds that, on the one hand, internships are seen as a key means of developing employability and are a stepping stone to careers in certain industries, whilst at the same time they are seen as potentially exploitative, exclusive and a barrier to social mobility. Within this view issues around social mobility are thought to arise because aspirants from less well-off backgrounds are less able to forgo wages in order to participate in the unpaid internships that will help them improve their employability. Paid internships are seen as less problematic because they remove the financial barriers associated with unpaid internships and are more likely to be accessed through more formal channels.

This thesis challenges the assumptions in the ‘dual view’ on two levels. Firstly, the finding that unpaid internships did not help creative and mass communication graduates to earn more or to get graduate level or creative jobs challenges the ‘stepping stones’ assumption that is central to the ‘dual view’ (either explicitly or implicitly). Within the view, concerns about the potentially exclusionary nature of unpaid internships assumes that they will be of benefit to those who do them. However, this finding shows this assumption to be false. Secondly, the fact that after controlling for other factors such as grades and reputation of institution it was the more beneficial, paid internships that those from less privileged backgrounds struggle to secure undermines the second central claim of the ‘dual view’ that removing financial barriers to internships will help overcome issues of inequality of access. The findings show that even after removing financial barriers and controlling for academic credentials, those with lower social capital are less able to access the best opportunities.

These substantive findings contribute to the sociology of employment literature in relation to three main debates. The first contribution is to debates about the nature and operation of the graduate labour market as the findings challenge the meritocracy thesis of the ‘conventional’ view (Tholen, 2012). By showing that factors other than academic credentials are a major factor in the graduate labour market the findings undermine the idea that the graduate labour market is a meritocracy, where simply possessing the requisite credentials to do the job is enough to access the best opportunities, and instead lend further weight to the ‘alternative’ view that posits that labour-market success depends not only on educational credentials but also on a range of factors, often bound up in social class (Tholen, 2012; Brown and Hesketh, 2004; Brown et al., 2014; Ware, 2015a, 2015b).

The second contribution is to debates about transitions from education to employment. The fact that so many graduates are engaging in internships (around a quarter of creative and mass communication graduates) provides evidence of increasingly extended and individualised transitions from education to employment (MacDonald, 2009; Roberts, 2009). Furthermore, the fact that some of these pathways appear to have little value reinforces the idea that these fragmented pathways often have uncertain outcomes and may favour those with the right kinds of backgrounds and resources (Heinz, 2009; MacDonald, 2009). The findings also show that it is not just fast-track transitions that are problematic, but as increasing numbers of young people enter higher education slow-track transitions can no longer be assumed to be unproblematic (MacDonald, 2011). The findings also provide evidence that individuals are increasingly taking it upon themselves to develop employability and work-related competencies. This finding not only fits in with the transitions literature noted above, but also provides partial support for arguments about the increasing flexibilisation of the labour market (e.g. Thompson, 2013; Kalleberg, 2011). In these views a consequence of increasing concern about profits and shareholder value means that employers are increasingly cautious about developing staff and committing to labour market entrants long-term, leading to an 'audition' or 'try before you buy' culture (Smith, 2010; Thompson, 2013). Internships may be viewed as an example of this (Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Smith, 2010). The fact that large numbers of graduates are taking it upon themselves to develop employability, and that despite their efforts many still struggle to improve their position, provides some evidence of this.

The third contribution of this thesis is to debates about socio-economic reproduction and the continuation of patterns of advantage and disadvantage. The fact that some internships appear to be better than others in terms of accessing the best jobs, and that access to these is still moulded by social class, provides evidence that the patterns of class advantage and disadvantage already evident in the education system extend well into the labour market (Roberts, 2009). That social class still appears to play a role in accessing paid internships – despite the removal of financial barriers and after controlling for grades and institution prestige – and that those from middle class backgrounds were more likely to access internships through personal contacts suggests other factors such as social and cultural capital are still at play (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

Finally, taken together, the findings contribute to a much more detailed and nuanced picture of graduate internships. Although previous qualitative studies have been illuminating on the subject (e.g. Siebert and Wilson, 2013; Leonard et al, 2016; Frenette, 2013: Shade and Jacobson, 2015), quantitative studies have either been based on non-representative employer surveys (e.g. CIPD, 2010b), have failed to distinguish between internships and other types of experiences when attributing outcomes (Purcell et al., 2012), or have been based on government-backed schemes that may not be representative of the wider practice (Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd and CRAC, 2011).

On a broader theoretical note, the findings of this research contribute to wider debates about the relationship between socially shared discourse and understandings of emerging practices, and the extent to which these understandings are borne out in patterns of everyday action. The fact that central planks of the commonly held ‘dual view’ of internships were found to have little support in terms of what happens in practice, suggests two things. Firstly, that there may often be a disconnect between commonly held views about everyday practices and how those practices actually play out in the course of events. And secondly, the fact that despite having little grounding in what actually happens large numbers of graduates engage in unpaid internships under the assumption that they will help, perhaps provides evidence of the primacy of socially shared and intersubjective reality in guiding everyday action.

9 References

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10 Appendix tables

Table 10.1: Participation in internships, by study characteristics

	Interns*, %	Volunteers **, %	Other workers, %	Base, N
Qualification obtained				
First degree	3.2	1.6	95.2	185,705
Other undergraduate	0.6	1.1	98.3	40,100
PGCE	0.1	0.3	99.6	19,265
Masters	3.3	1.5	95.2	41,610
Doctorate	0.2	0.4	99.3	6,830
Other postgraduate	0.6	0.8	98.6	16,040
Classification - First Degrees only				
First class honours	3.7	1.3	94.9	31,420
Upper second class honours	3.7	1.7	94.6	90,230
Lower second class honours	2.7	1.9	95.5	42,780
Third class honours/Pass	2	2	96.0	7,350
Unclassified	0.9	0.5	98.6	13,930
Total	3.2	1.6	95.2	185,705
Subject area				
A - MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY	0.5	0.3	99.1	9,280
B - SUBJECTS ALLIED TO MEDICINE	0.5	0.9	98.5	37,510
C - BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES	2.5	2.9	94.5	24,145
D - VETERINARY SCIENCES, AGRICULTURE AND RELATED	2.3	2.7	95.0	3,255
F - PHYSICAL SCIENCES	2.6	1.9	95.4	10,240
G - MATHEMATICAL AND COMPUTER SCIENCES	2.2	1.1	96.8	13,955
H, J - ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY	1.7	0.5	97.8	16,100
K - ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING AND PLANNING	3.1	0.6	96.3	8,910

	Interns*, %	Volunteers **, %	Other workers, %	Base, N
L - SOCIAL STUDIES	3.5	2.1	94.4	29,050
M – LAW	3.9	2.3	93.9	10,735
N - BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES	2.6	0.5	96.9	38,870
P – MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION	5.3	1.1	93.6	8,245
Q, R, T – LANGUAGES AND RELATED	5.2	2.2	92.6	14,150
V - HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES	4.9	3.8	91.3	11,380
W - CREATIVE ARTS AND DESIGN	5.0	1.5	93.6	26,455
X – EDUCATION	0.2	0.5	99.3	45,105
J – COMBINED	1.8	2.4	95.7	2,165

Base: All with any employment
Notes: *Wider definition, **In public or voluntary industries/occupations
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.2: Participation in internships, by personal characteristics

	Interns*, %	Volunteers **, %	Other workers, %	Base, N
Gender				
Male	2.6	1.2	96.3	124,440
Female	2.4	1.5	96.1	185,110
Age - 6 groups				
21 or under	3.7	1.8	94.5	68,290
22 to 25	3.3	1.2	95.5	125,200
26 to 29	1.6	0.9	97.5	34,830
30 to 39	0.6	1.0	98.4	39,910
40 to 49	0.3	1.2	98.5	28,550
50+	0.7	3.1	96.1	12,715
Ethnicity				
White	2.1	1.3	96.7	246,325
Asian	3.2	2.0	94.9	21,450
Black	2.9	2.4	94.7	11,840
Other(including mixed)	3.6	1.8	94.7	9,240
Social class (three groups)				
Managerial/Professional(1-2)	3.4	1.5	95.1	81,950
Intermediate(3-4)	2.7	1.3	95.9	34,325
Routine/Manual(5-8)	2.3	1.5	96.2	38,325
Low-participation neighbourhood				
Other neighbourhood	2.3	1.4	96.3	260,795
Low-participation neighbourhood	1.4	1.3	97.2	30,230
State school marker				
Private school	5.1	1.4	93.6	15,755
State school	2.6	1.5	95.9	182,715
Domicile				
North East	1.9	1.4	96.6	12,060
North West	1.7	1.4	96.9	34,530
Yorkshire and The Humber	1.5	1.5	97	21,300
East Midlands	1.9	1.3	96.8	20,245
West Midlands	1.8	1.6	96.6	25,760
East of England	2.6	1.3	96.1	26,715
London	3.7	1.7	94.6	40,500
South East	2.8	1.3	95.9	40,370

	Interns*, %	Volunteers **, %	Other workers, %	Base, N
South West	1.9	1.4	96.7	24,105
Northern Ireland	2	1.0	97.1	10,055
Scotland	1.5	0.9	97.6	21,770
Wales	1.4	1.2	97.4	14,270
Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man	2	2.1	95.9	661
All UK (inc. Islands)	2.2	1.4	96.4	293,815
EU	7.1	1.2	91.8	15,740

Base: All with any employment
Notes: *Wider definition, **In public or voluntary industries/occupations
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.3: Industry/sectors with the highest participation in internships

	Interns, %	Other, %	Base, N
(99) Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies	35.7	64.3	340
(94) Activities of membership organisations	13.4	86.6	2,920
(58) Publishing activities	12.9	87.1	2,900
(60) Programming and broadcasting activities	11.0	89.0	1,290
(59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities	8.7	91.3	2,780
(70) Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities	8.7	91.3	3,565
(14) Manufacture of wearing apparel	8.5	91.5	340
(73) Advertising and market research	8.4	91.6	3,865
(90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities	8.4	91.6	4,500
(91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities	8.0	92.0	1,695
(74) Other professional, scientific and technical activities	7.9	92.1	5,145
(15) Manufacture of leather and related products	7.2	92.8	85
(18) Printing and reproduction of recorded media	7.2	92.8	430
(72) Scientific research and development	7.1	92.9	1,885
(93) Sports activities and amusement and recreation activities	6.6	93.4	4,515
(63) Information service activities	6.3	93.7	1,150
(13) Manufacture of textiles	5.9	94.1	185
(02) Forestry and logging	5.6	94.4	105
All sectors	2.5	97.5	307,805

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.4: Occupations with high participation in internships

	Interns, %	Others, %	Base, N
(2472) Public relations professionals	20.5	79.5	1,565
(2114) Social and humanities scientists	19.5	80.5	430
(3550) Conservation and environmental associate professionals	16.7	83.3	270
(2141) Conservation professionals	14.6	85.4	340
(4114) Officers of non-governmental organisations	14.0	86.0	670
(2452) Archivists and curators	13.8	86.2	445
(2471) Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors	13.8	86.2	1,640
Textiles, footwear and apparel trades and process operatives (5411-5419, 8137 and 8113)	12.4	87.6	175
(3543) Marketing associate professionals	12.3	87.7	6,045
(5244) TV, video and audio engineers	12.1	87.9	60
(2426) Researchers (media, national security, police and nec)	12.0	88.0	2,570
(9249) Elementary security occupations n.e.c.	12.0	88.0	125
(3421) Graphic, exhibition, multimedia designers, commercial artists, desktop publishing assistants and operators	11.9	88.1	2,165
(3416) Arts officers, producers and directors	11.5	88.5	1,855
(2419) Legal professionals n.e.c.	11.1	88.9	720
(3422) Designers (clothing, textiles, jewellery, furniture, interior, set, industrial, and product	10.2	89.8	2,190
(2429) Business, research and administrative professionals n.e.c.	9.9	90.1	1,010
(3546) Conference and exhibition managers and organisers	9.7	90.3	1,735
(3121) Architectural and town planning technicians	9.4	90.6	1,220
(3412) Authors, writers and translators	8.9	91.1	1,650
All occupations	2.5	97.5	309,030

Base: Those with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.5: Whether internship is paid or unpaid, by personal characteristics and location

		Unpaid, %	Paid, %	Base, N
Gender	Male	57.2	42.8	2,205
	Female	59.1	40.9	3,150
Age (at grad)	21 or under	61.4	38.6	1,785
	22 to 25	56.5	43.5	2,860
	26 to 29	52.9	47.1	385
	30 to 39	54.9	45.1	195
	40 to 49	66.7	33.3	65
	50+	84.1	15.9	65
Ethnicity	White	58.9	41.1	3,580
	Asian	65.8	34.2	470
	Black	68.2	31.8	240
	Other(including mixed)	63.8	36.2	220
Social class	Managerial/Professional	60.1	39.9	1,970
	Intermediate	60.8	39.2	630
	Routine/Manual	56.0	44.0	600
Neighbourhood	Low-participation	54.7	45.3	290
	Other	60.8	39.2	4,250
State school marker	Private school	61.5	38.5	560
	State school	60.0	40.0	3,260
Domicile - UK or EU	UK (inc. Islands)	60.3	39.7	4,575
	EU	46.4	53.6	780
Location of employment	North East	38.9	61.1	125
	North West	56.2	43.8	380
	Yorkshire and The Humber	55.0	45.0	200
	East Midlands	45.0	55.0	190
	West Midlands	57.6	42.4	260
	East of England	58.2	41.8	215
	London	65.5	34.5	1,985
	South East	59.5	40.5	345
	South West	56.6	43.4	225
	Northern Ireland	45.2	54.8	85
	Scotland	40.7	59.3	180

		Unpaid, %	Paid, %	Base, N
	Wales	63.6	36.4	100
	Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man	-	-	-
All interns (wide definition)		58.3	41.7	5,355

Base: All interns (wide definition)
Note: '-' percentage suppressed to comply with HESA's rounding rules
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.6: Whether internship is paid or unpaid, by study characteristics

		Unpaid, %	Paid, %	Base, N
Qualification obtained	First degree	59.1	40.9	4,125
	Other undergraduate	61.7	38.3	140
	PGCE	-	-	10
	Masters	55.7	44.3	1,010
	Doctorate	-	-	10
	Other postgraduate	45	55	60
Classification of First Degree obtained	First class honours	56.2	43.8	840
	Upper second class honours	58.2	41.8	2,335
	Lower second class honours	66.9	33.1	765
	Third class honours/Pass	73.3	26.7	100
	Unclassified	23.8	76.2	85
Subject area	A - MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY	-	-	30
	B - SUBJECTS ALLIED TO MEDICINE	32.5	67.5	140
	C - BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES	67.1	32.9	445
	D - VETERINARY SCIENCES, AGRICULTURE AND RELATED SUBJECTS	-	-	50
	F - PHYSICAL SCIENCES	56.9	43.1	195
	G - MATHEMATICAL AND COMPUTER SCIENCES	43.5	56.5	205
	H, J - ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY	51.9	48.1	180
	K - ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING AND PLANNING	65.2	34.8	195
	L - SOCIAL STUDIES	53.2	46.8	720
	M – LAW	60.6	39.4	290
	N - BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES	46	54	680
	P – MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION	61.8	38.2	295
	Q, R, T – LANGUAGES AND RELATED	60.1	39.9	525
	V - HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES	62.0	38.0	415
	W - CREATIVE ARTS AND DESIGN	70.9	29.1	905
	X – EDUCATION	49.7	50.3	60
	J – COMBINED	-	-	32
All interns (wide definition)		58.3	41.7	5,355

Base: All interns (wide definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.7: Whether internship was paid or unpaid by occupational group (those with highest participation rates)

Standard Occupational Classification (4 digit - numeric variable)	Unpaid, %	Paid, %	Base, N
(2471) Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors	79.4	20.6	155
(3422) Designers (clothing, textiles, jewellery, furniture, interior, set, industrial, and product	76.3	23.7	160
(2472) Public relations professionals	66.8	21.2	225
(2426) Researchers (media, national security, police and nec)	66.5	33.5	210
(4114) Officers of non-governmental organisations	66.2	33.8	75
(3121) Architectural and town planning technicians	65.4	34.6	80
(3421) Graphic, exhibition, multimedia designers, commercial artists, desktop publishing assistants and operators	64.1	35.9	185
(3543) Marketing associate professionals	49.5	50.5	525

Base: Interns (wider definition)
Note: Only includes occupational groups at the 4-digit level where there were more than 52 interns
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.8: Whether internship was paid or unpaid by industry

Standard Industrial Classification (2 digit - numeric)	Unpaid, %	Paid, %	Base, N
(90) Creative, arts and entertainment activities	83.5	16.5	280
(60) Programming and broadcasting activities	81.0	19.0	105
(93) Sports activities and amusement and recreation activities	78.4	21.6	215
(59) Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities	76.0	24.0	165
(94) Activities of membership organisations	75.8	24.2	300
(58) Publishing activities	73.4	26.6	255
(91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities	73.2	26.8	100
(74) Other professional, scientific and technical activities	72.5	27.5	290
(88) Social work activities without accommodation	70.6	29.4	295
(82) Office administrative, office support and other business support activities	69.9	30.1	75
(72) Scientific research and development	69.5	30.5	95
(69) Legal and accounting activities	66.9	33.1	255
(78) Employment activities	65.7	34.3	70
(71) Architectural and engineering activities; technical testing and analysis	62.0	38.0	165
(99) Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies	62.0	38.0	90
(70) Activities of head offices; management consultancy activities	57.3	42.7	220
(68) Real estate activities	55.0	45.0	60
(73) Advertising and market research	53.7	46.3	215
(47) Retail trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles	49.5	50.5	215
(46) Wholesale trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles	47.3	52.7	55
(62) Computer programming, consultancy and related activities	43.0	57.0	140
(86) Human health activities	41.5	58.5	140
(84) Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	40.6	59.4	210
(85) Education	27.0	73.0	480
(64) Financial service activities, except insurance and pension funding	26.6	73.4	155
All interns	58.1	41.9	5,315

Base: Interns (wider definition)
Note: Only includes industries at the 2-digit level where there were more than 52 interns
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.9: All reasons and main reason for taking main job, by whether paid or unpaid internship

	All reasons		Main reason	
Reason for taking job	**Unpaid, %**	**Paid, %**	**Unpaid, %**	**Paid, %**
It fitted into my career plan/it was exactly the type of work I wanted	48.8	58.1	30.4	39.2
It was the best job offer I received	16.5	32.2	3.2	7.1
It was the only job offer I received	12.1	17.4	4.4	5.0
It was an opportunity to progress in the organisation	20.8	26.9	4.0	5.1
To see if I would like the type of work it involved	33.0	38.0	7.7	8.4
To gain and broaden my experience in order to get the type of job I really want	65.2	58.1	47.2	28.3
It was in the right location	21.6	30.6	2.0	2.3
The job was well-paid	0.8	12.1	0.1	0.7
In order to earn a living/pay off debts	2.0	23.4	0.9	3.8
Base, N	3,120	2,235	2,865	2,145

Base: All interns (wider definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.10: How found out about main job, by employment basis (%)

How found out about job	Self-employed /freelance	Starting up own business	Permanent or open-ended contract	Fixed-term contract (12 months or longer)	Fixed-term contract (less than 12 months)	Interns (wide definition)	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Developing a portfolio /creative practice	Temping (inc. supply teaching)	Other	All working
Your university/college (e.g. Careers Service, lecturer, website)	4.8	4.8	6.0	15.3	9.2	17.6	8.7	11.3	4.9	7.1	7.9
Media (e.g. newspaper/magazine advertisement)	2.5	2.4	7.8	7.0	5.8	5.4	5.2	4.8	3.2	5.2	6.9
Employer's website	3.4	5.8	17.7	18.5	17.9	15.1	11.6	8.6	10.8	10.4	16.4
Recruitment agency/website	5.3	5.8	16.1	15.6	20.9	13.9	7.4	11.0	33.2	10.5	16.2
Personal contacts, including family and friends	19.5	14.9	14.4	12.4	19.1	22.3	25.3	19.0	22.4	24.9	15.7
Professional networking	11.8	8.2	4.2	5.6	5.3	6.8	5.3	11.1	3.3	3.6	5.0
Speculative application	2.0	0.8	2.7	2.1	3.0	5.6	9.3	3.3	3.2	3.8	2.8
Already worked there (including on an internship)	16.2	11.3	24.2	13.3	11.1	4.4	9.8	11.1	11.8	18.6	19.6
Other	34.5	45.9	6.9	10.2	7.7	8.8	17.3	19.7	7.0	15.9	9.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base, N	13,160	1,800	160,180	38,110	23,125	6,665	3,640	1,020	10,085	5,585	263,360

Base: All with any work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.11: How found out about internship, by school type and low-participation neighbourhood

How found out about job	Low-participation neighbourhood, %	Other neighbourhood, %	Private school, %	State school, %
Your university/college (e.g. Careers Service, lecturer, website)	26.6	17.7	11.9	19.4
Media (e.g. newspaper/magazine advertisement)	4.7	5.3	4.8	5.1
Employer's website	11.8	14.4	17.5	13.9
Recruitment agency/website	13.9	14.4	14.0	14.4
Personal contacts, including family and friends	19.5	22.5	25.7	22.4
Professional networking	6.8	6.6	7.9	6.4
Speculative application	2.6	5.6	5.4	5.3
Already worked there (including on an internship)	4.5	4.4	4.6	4
Other	9.5	9.1	8.2	9.2
Total	100	100	100	100
Base, N	380	5,260	670	4,060

Base: Interns (wider definition)
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.12: How found out about main job, by classification of degree

How found out about job (numeric)	First	2:1	2:2	Third/Pass
Your university/college (e.g. Careers Service, lecturer, website)	21.4	18.7	14.7	16.4
Media (e.g. newspaper/magazine advertisement)	6.1	5.0	4.7	8.6
Employer's website	14.0	15.8	12.6	10.2
Recruitment agency/website	13.5	14.3	15.1	10.9
Personal contacts, including family and friends	18.5	22.6	27.4	29.7
Professional networking	7.6	6.7	5.7	3.9
Speculative application	6.0	4.9	5.8	6.3
Already worked there (including on an internship)	4.3	3.6	4.5	1.6
Other	8.8	8.4	9.5	12.5
Total	100	100	100	100
Base, N	1,025	2,910	965	130

Base: First degree graduates with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.13: Whether had additional jobs or income, by employment basis

	Self-employed/freelance	Starting up own business	On a permanent or open-ended contract	On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	Interns - wide definition	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice	Temping (including supply teaching)	Other	Total
Number of jobs											
1 job	85.8	84.3	96.8	96.3	93.8	89.9	86.8	81.9	93.4	92.8	95.2
2+ jobs	14.2	15.7	3.2	3.7	6.2	10.1	13.2	18.1	6.6	7.2	4.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base, N	15,870	2,145	185,450	44,850	26,295	7,675	4,210	1,310	11,510	6,630	305,945
Whether has additional income											
No	87.1	86.3	97.6	97.2	94.9	93.7	94.3	88.3	94.8	94.4	96.5
Yes	12.9	13.7	2.4	2.8	5.1	6.3	5.7	11.7	5.2	5.6	3.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base, N	7,340	1,135	123,880	31,545	16,735	5,700	4,210	855	5,590	3,245	200,240

Base: All with any work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

Table 10.14: Pay and total income, by employment type

		Self-employed/freelance	Starting up own business	On a permanent or open-ended contract	On a fixed-term contract lasting 12 months or longer	On a fixed-term contract lasting less than 12 months	Interns (Paid)	Intern s (Unpaid)	Volunteers in public or vol occs/inds	Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice	Temping (including supply teaching)	Other	All graduates
Pay from main job (£)	Mean	21,374	22,294	23,300	22,334	17,726	13,460	0	279	10,303	15,666	14,235	21,333
	Median	15,000	17,000	21,000	21,000	17,000	12,000	0	0	6,000	14,000	12,000	21,000
	Std Dev	31,464	26,114	23,575	13,349	9,998	10,544	0	2,923	13,901	52,663	12,592	22,954
Base, N		7,340	1,135	123,880	31,545	16,735	2,235	3,120	3,225	855	5,590	3,245	198,905
Total income (£)	Mean	22,130	23,498	23,394	22,451	17,911	13,681	421	734	11,077	15,807	14,446	21,485
	Median	15,000	18,000	21,000	21,500	18,000	13,000	0	0	8,000	14,000	12,000	21,000
	Std Dev	31,430	27,080	23,603	13,414	10,038	10,548	1,910	3,843	14,349	52,407	12,771	22,973
Base, N		7,540	1,165	124,340	31,665	16,860	2,235	3,120	3,235	870	5,640	3,290	199,990

Base: All with any evidence of work
Source: HESA Student Record 2011/12
HESA Destination of Leavers survey 2011/12

11 Appendices

Appendix A: List of voluntary industries and occupations excluded from the definition of interns

Respondents who reported their employment basis as ‘voluntary’ who were in the industries listed were excluded from the definition of internships. Any remaining ‘voluntary’ works who were working in the listed professions outside of these industries were also excluded from the definition of internships. This is not an exhaustive list of industries and occupations that might be considered as ‘voluntary’, but rather just represents a list of industries and occupations excluded from the definition of interns that were found amongst graduates within the dataset.

Industries (two-digit SIC codes)
(47) Retail trade, except for motor vehicles and motorcycles
(84) Public administration and defence; compulsory social security
(85) Education
(86) Human health activities
(87) Residential care activities
(88) Social work activities
(91) Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
Occupations (four-digit SOC codes)
(2211) Medical practitioners
(2212) Psychologists
(2215) Dental practitioners
(2216) Veterinarians
(2217) Medical radiographers
(2219) Health professionals n.e.c.
(2221) Physiotherapists
(2222) Occupational therapists
(2223) Speech and language therapists
(2229) Therapy professionals n.e.c.
(2231) Nurses
(2232) Midwives
(2311) Higher education teaching professionals
(2312) Further education teaching professionals
(2314) Secondary education teaching professionals
(2315) Primary and nursery education teaching professionals
(2316) Special needs education teaching professionals

(2317) Senior professionals of educational establishments
(2318) Education advisers and school inspectors
(2319) Teaching and other educational professionals n.e.c.
(2442) Social workers
(2443) Probation officers
(2444) Clergy
(2449) Welfare professionals n.e.c.
(3218) Medical and dental technicians
(3219) Health associate professionals n.e.c.
(3231) Youth and community workers
(3233) Child and early years officers
(3234) Housing officers
(3235) Counsellors
(3239) Welfare and housing associate professionals n.e.c.
(3311) NCOs and other ranks
(3312) Police officers (sergeant and below)
(3315) Police community support officers
(3319) Protective service associate professionals n.e.c.
(4112) National government administrative occupations
(4113) Local government administrative occupations
(4114) Officers of non-governmental organisations

Appendix B: Call for expressions of interest (CGCS)

CHEAD
council for higher education in art and design

Dear Colleagues,

Call for Expression of Interest: Survey of early career experiences and trajectories of graduates from creative art, design, crafts, and media and mass communications subjects

At our CHEAD Business / Forum meeting in November 2013, Wil Hunt presented a planned survey of A&D graduates to explore internships and their role in the graduate labour market. Wil was a key researcher on our Creative Graduates Creative Futures project (2010) and therefore brings with him an in-depth knowledge of the issues of the challenges facing A&D graduates.

This latest survey is now ready to start and Wil is therefore inviting expressions of interest from institutions to join. Wil's presentation at our Business / Forum meeting showed that this project could be of real value to members and to CHEAD, and we do therefore endorse this proposal.
Please find attached the following:

Call for expression of interest (**also pasted below**)
Graduate sampling protocol, giving further details of the survey methodology
Random selection tool, to accompany the sampling protocol

If you have any questions or are interested in participating in this survey, Please

contact Wil Hunt directly by email at William.hunt@port.ac.uk, or by phone on 07830 XXXXXX or 0239 284XXXX.

Best wishes

Christoph

Executive Secretary

CHEAD

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Dear Colleagues

This email is to invite you to take part in the *Creative Graduates' Careers Survey,* an exciting new survey investigating the early career experiences and trajectories of graduates from creative art, design, crafts, and media and mass communications subjects.

The research aims to follow a similar methodology to that which was adopted for the highly influential *Creative Graduates, Creative Futures* (CGCF) project published in 2010, which was commissioned and supported by CHEAD and the University of the Arts London and on which I was one of the core researchers. As with the CGCF study the research needs the help of institutions that have significant provision in the above subject areas to facilitate a survey in order to explore the complex career patterns of graduates these graduates in much more detail than is currently possible through the use of the DLHE and L DLHE data alone.

What participation would involve?

In order to participate in the research all you would be asked to do would be to randomly select a relatively small sample of graduates and send an email inviting them to take part in an online survey. The sampling and contact strategy has been designed in consultation with staff at several HEIs to be as straightforward and brief as possible and should take one or two members of staff no longer than a few hours to carry out. The survey itself should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete and will ask graduates about their work and related experiences since graduation, including:

- all of their work activities since graduation;
- skills development gained through work activities;

- motivations towards employment and related activities;
- and attitudes towards the labour market and future goals.

What do we get out of it?

As a thank you for taking part and in recognition of your contribution to the research, a set of anonymised headline tables for respondents from your institution, benchmarked against the aggregate figures for all respondents, would be provided for your own use once the research has been completed (numbers permitting). This was something that was provided to participating HEIs in the CGCF study and feedback suggests that this was something institutions found useful.

Who is doing the research and what is the research for?

The research is being conducted by me as part of my PhD research looking at internships and their role in the graduate labour market and is sponsored by the University of Portsmouth as part of my course of study. Although the focus of my research is primarily about internships and similar experiences it is important for the research to look at all early career experiences of all graduates in order to be able to compare the different experiences of graduates and understand the context within which internships occur. This is why the survey itself aims to survey graduates more widely rather than simply aiming to survey interns and will have a broad focus in terms of questionnaire content.

Are there any issues relating to data protection?

The sampling and contact strategy has been carefully devised in order to avoid any potential issues relating to data protection. Participating HEIs will be asked to sample and email participants themselves. **This means that no contact information or personal data will be passed on to the research team or any other third party**. However, it is recommended that you consider whether your own policies and/or Fair Processing Notices permit you to contact graduates for the purposes of inviting them to take part in surveys related to graduate careers.

How can I get involved?

The online survey is scheduled to go live in August 2014 and will be open for eight weeks. As a consequence the sampling task involved would need to commence at some point prior to this. At this stage you are simply asked to read the attached sampling protocol and to register your interest in the research and whether or not you would in principal be prepared to carry out the sampling task involved. The protocol contains some background about the research and detailed instructions for the

sampling task involved. At the moment the attached protocol is only a draft document as some details such as precise sample sizes will need to be confirmed once the number of participating institutions is known. It is recognised that you may want to reserve your full consent to participate in the research until you have had a chance to look into all aspects of the research in more detail, but at this stage it is important for the research team to get an idea of the number of institutions that are interested in participating in the research so that precise arrangements such as timings and the final sample sizes can be finalised. It is also important for the research team to get an indication of whether HEIs are willing to participate in principal so that an internal ethical review of the sampling methodology can be conducted at the University of Portsmouth.

I would therefore ask you to reply to this email by **Wednesday the 9th July 2014** and to confirm:

a. Whether or not you would be interested in finding out more about taking part in the research;

b. If, in principle, you would be prepared to perform the sampling task involved.

Although, it is hoped that institutions will be able to register their interest in the research by this date it is recognised that some may need longer to decide whether or not to take part. Where this is the case we would be happy to discuss the project in more detail and to provide any additional information necessary. In addition, it may be possible for institutions to join the survey at a later date if necessary. Please be assured that any register of interest in the project at this stage would be non-binding and that you can reserve the right to withdraw at a later stage should you so wish. A timeline for the survey and tasks involved has been included in the appendices of the attached sampling protocol for your information.

If you would like to find out more about the research or discuss the proposed methodology in more detail please feel free to contact Will Hunt by email at William.hunt@port.ac.uk, or by phone on 07830 XXXXXX or 0239 284XXXX.

Thank you in advance for your consideration in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Will Hunt

Disclaimer:

CHEAD relies in its work on its network of associations across and related to our sector. Correspondingly, from time to time we may disseminate certain pieces of information only from these organisations, and only provided that this may be of interest to CHEAD members. However, in acknowledgement of the nuisance of cross-postings, CHEAD strictly does not circulate any other 3rd-party advertisements.

Appendix C: Sampling protocol for participating HEIs (CGCS)

Introduction/Background

Recent changes in the Higher Education system including the raising of the cap on student fees and the roll-out of Key Information Sets (KIS) has arguably increased interest in graduate employment and careers. The recent Futuretrack final report indicates that competition in the graduate labour market has intensified in recent years, with graduates seemingly finding it harder to get work or a graduate job than previously, and the suggestion that the graduate premium may be declining (Purcell et al., 2012). In addition, research suggests that graduates are increasingly called upon to sets themselves apart from their peers by gaining additional qualifications, or engaging in internships, volunteering, work experience or extra-curricular activities (e.g. Ball et al., 2010; Seibert and Wilson, 2013; Milburn, 2009; McCleod et al., 2011). While a number of studies have shown that taking part in some of these activities can have a range of benefits to individuals and employers (e.g. CIPD, 2010; Mellors-Bourne and Day, 2011; Oakleigh Consulting Ltd. and CRAC, 2011) there is some evidence to suggest that the benefits are not always clear cut (e.g. Purcell et al, 2012). Further, some commentators have suggested that the need for graduates to prove themselves in this way may disadvantage those who are less able to engage in these sorts of activities (e.g. Lawton and Potter, 2010; Milburn, 2009). While the Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education (DLHE) survey and the longitudinal follow-up provide some data on the early activities of graduates the level of detail they provide does not capture the diverse and often complex careers of graduates in some sectors where diverse employment scenarios and portfolio working are more commonplace (Ball et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010). Furthermore, they do not provide information on the skills development or subjective experiences of graduates. The present research aims to address this gap by exploring creative graduates' early career experiences in more detail by employing a range of quantitative and qualitative research methods including secondary analysis of DLHE data, a detailed quantitative survey of graduates, and in-depth qualitative interviews.

The Survey

As mentioned above, DLHE data can provide a certain amount of reliable data on the early career experiences of graduates. However, the level of detail contained in the survey limits the level of analysis that is possible. In order to get a more insightful and nuanced picture of the early career experiences of creative graduates it is necessary to conduct a more detailed survey that can capture more complex employment scenarios, subjective experiences and outcomes.

The *Creative Graduates' Careers Survey* (CGCS) is an online survey of UK and EU graduates from UK higher education institutions who studied creative art, design, crafts, media and communications

subjects. The survey , conducted by researchers at the University of Portsmouth, follows a similar methodology to that used in the highly successful *Creative Graduates Creative Futures* (*CGCF*) survey (Ball, et al., 2010; Hunt et al., 2010). It aims to explore the early career experiences of graduates in the first few years after graduation and aims to extend what we know about graduates early careers by focusing on:

- work activities engaged in since graduation;
- skills development gained through work activities;
- motivations towards employment and related activities;
- and attitudes towards the labour market and future goals.

Potential respondents will be sampled and contacted by HEIs themselves via email with a link to the survey so that graduates can complete the survey online at a time and place that suits them. This more personalised approach will help improve response rates and importantly will avoid potential data protection issues as it means that **contact details will not need be passed on to the research team** and therefore will not contravene data protection regulations.

What you will get out of it

As well as contributing to an important policy issue and an understudied area of research, discussions with HEI staff consulted during the design stage of this study have indicated that the sort of detailed data on the early experiences of their own graduates that the survey could provide would be invaluable in enhancing the information, advice and guidance that they can provide to students and graduates. Therefore, in order to encourage participation from institutions and in recognition of the important contribution made to the research, a set of aggregate headline tables for their graduates will be provided to each participating institution once the analysis of data is complete (provided the number of respondents is sufficient to ensure anonymity – i.e. more than 50 respondents). These tables will enable institutions to benchmark their graduates against aggregate figures for all institutions taking part and may provide important information that can be used in marketing, planning and IAG for graduates and students. Similar sets of tables were produced for HEIs following the *CGCF* survey and feedback from institutions was that this was something that had been particularly useful for them.

This protocol

This protocol outlines the sampling criteria for the target population for the survey and provides detailed instructions on how to randomly select participants for the survey. It also gives suggested instructions on how to contact graduates to take part in the survey. The process has been designed in consultation with staff at a number of HEIs in order to be as straightforward and brief as possible and follows a similar approach to that used in the highly successful *CGCF* survey. The sampling and contacting strategy consists of a two stage process. It should be possible for both processes to be carried out by one appropriate member of staff, but in some cases may require the input of more than one member of staff. The two stages, and suggested personnel to complete these tasks, are:

1. **randomly select and extract a sample of graduates** – the best person for the task is likely to be whoever is responsible for extracting the contact details for the DLHE survey, or someone who has access to archived DLHE extracts. This may be a dedicated destinations officer or someone from Careers, Registry, Planning or a dedicated Statistics team;

2. **email selected individuals using a mail-merge process** – the best person for this task may be whoever is responsible for contacting graduates for the DLHE survey and is likely to be someone within careers or alumni relations.

For clarity brief definitions for some of the terms used in the protocol are as follows:

Population – this refers to the target population for the survey. Or in other words the target group of graduates from which the sample is to be selected;

Sample – this refers to the final group of selected individuals to be contacted;

Random selection – a systematic process through which the sample is selected from the population so that each individual has a known and equal chance of being selected. This contrasts to a convenience sample where individuals are selected in a haphazard manor.

Identifying the sample population (the sampling criteria)

The sample population for the survey is all UK and EU graduates from first degree courses in creative arts, design, crafts, media and communications from the 07/08, 09/10 and 11/12 graduating cohorts, including graduates from both full-time and part-time courses.

Table 1 below outlines the sampling criteria for identifying the sample population. The criteria have been carefully selected in order to reflect the population of interest for the research and have been designed in consultation with staff at a number of HEIs contacted during the design stage of the research. The survey will focus on first degree graduates only so as to minimise the chances of sampling individuals more than once where they have continued on from one course to another. Overseas graduates have not been sampled as they are significantly more likely to return home after graduation and are less likely to engage in the UK labour market. Finally, the survey will focus on 2007/08, 2009/10, and 2011/12 cohorts to minimise crossover with the Longitudinal DLHE survey which is carried out biannually on the alternate cohorts.

In order to make the sampling process as easy and brief as possible it makes use of archived DLHE extracts, which most institutions should have saved on file. However, where DLHE extracts from previous years are not available institutions may need to extract the sample directly from their student records system. Table 1 details the sampling criteria for the sample, including field names and categories used in DLHE extracts. Where archived DLHE extracts are not available equivalent criteria should be used. The key thing to bear in mind during the sampling process is to try to ensure the population covers criteria that are equivalent to that used in the DLHE extract.

The population for the sample is graduates that are in the domiciles, level of qualification, cohorts, and subject areas listed in Table 1 (below). That is they are: first degree graduates, of UK or EU domicile, who graduated in 07/08 or 09/10 or 11/12, and studied any of the subjects listed in the table on either a full-time or part-time basis. If you are unsure as to whom to include or exclude from the sample population or which criteria to use please contact Will Hunt using the contact details at the bottom of this protocol.

Table 1: Sample criteria for the population to be sampled

Criteria	Graduates to include	DLHE field	Categories to include	Categories to exclude
Domicile	Home/UK; Channel Islands and Isle of Mann; EU;	HOMEEUOS	1=Home; 2=Other EU; [UK (inc. islands) and EU]	3=Other overseas; [Overseas]
Level of qualification	First Degree;	XDLEV501	3= 'First Degree'	All other course aims
Mode of study	Full-time; Part-time;	XQMODE01	1= Full-time; 2= Part-time;	3= FE continuous delivery; [If relevant]
Graduating cohort	2007/08; 2009/10; 2011/12;	Instance.ENDDATE	[2007-08-01 <=Instance.ENDDATE<=2008-07-31] [2009-08-01 <=Instance.ENDDATE<=2010-07-31] [2011-08-01 <=Instance.ENDDATE<=2012-07-31]	[All other cohorts]
Subject area (JACS 2.0) – whether main, joint or secondary subject	P – Mass Communications and Documentation; W – Creative Arts and Design;	JACSLEV101[1]	E – Mass Communications and Documentation; H – Creative Arts and Design;	[All other subjects[2]]

[1] Earlier DLHE extracts may not contain this precise variable. Please include all subjects within the equivalent broad subject groups P and W. Creative Arts and Design includes: Fine Art, Design studies, Music, Drama, Dance, Cinematics and photography, Crafts, Imaginative writing , Others in creative arts & design. Mass Communications and Documentation includes: Information services, Publicity studies, Media studies, Publishing, Journalism, Others in mass communications & documentation. If you are unsure which subjects to include please contact Will Hunt using the contact details at the bottom of this protocol.

[2] It is noted that this may exclude some subjects at the 4-digit JACS level that may be of interest. However, for consistency it has been decided to sample graduates within the broad subject groups above as in many cases it will not be possible to sample subjects at the 4-digit level from DLHE extracts.

Selecting a random/probability sample

Discussions with HEI staff at a number of institutions suggested that the simplest and least labour intensive way to select relevant individuals would be to sample them from pre-existing DLHE extracts held on file. However, in some cases institutions may prefer to sample graduates directly from their student records database. Where this is the case we would ask that institutions liaise with the lead researcher Will Hunt using the contact details at the bottom of this protocol so that a record can be kept of which database has been used by each participating HEI.

The best suited member of staff to carry out this task will vary from institution to institution. However, from the consultation with staff at a number of HEIs this is likely to be the person who is normally responsible for overseeing the DLHE survey or another person with access to archived DLHE extracts. Alternatively, this may be the person who is normally responsible for extracting the contact details from the student records database for the DLHE extract. This may be someone working within Registry, Planning or a dedicated Statistics unit. If you are unsure who the best person for this task will be please contact the Will Hunt.

The online survey is currently under development and is expected to be ready to go live in mid to late August and to be open for eight weeks. Although it may be possible to join the survey after the survey opens it is suggested that the sampling task is carried out before the 15th August so that email invites can be sent out as soon as the online survey is ready. The consultation with HEI staff also suggested that staff needed to carry out the sampling task may start to get busy with other essential work from August onwards. Therefore, it is particularly important that the sampling task is performed before this time even though the contacting task will be carried out at a later date. If you anticipate any difficulties meeting this date, please contact Will as soon as possible to discuss.

Depending on whether the records database to be used has a random selection facility there are two sets of instructions below. 'Option A' applies to those systems that have a random selection facility built in. Please follow these instructions if this applies to you. Alternatively, if you choose to sample individuals from archived DLHE extracts or your student records system does not have a built in random selection facility, please follow the instructions provided in 'Option B' using the random selection tool provided with this protocol.

Option A – If the database to be used has a feature which enables the random selection individuals from within the database this can be used to select the sample of graduates to be contacted for the survey. If this is the case please follow the following steps:

1) Select the target population by selecting all first degree graduates in your student database from the domiciles, cohorts, and subjects listed in Table 1 (above), including those who studied on a full-time and part-time basis. Please record the total number in 'Box A' of the reporting form (appendix 1).

2) Using the random selection tool in your student database please then select two-thirds (66.7 per cent) of cases from the target population identified at step 1. Record the total number selected in 'Box B' of the reporting form.

3) Extract the following details for each of the individuals selected during step 2 and save this in a separate file:

i. Full name
ii. Personal email address (the most up-to-date email address you have for the graduate/student)
iii. Institutional email address (if this is still used by your institution to contact graduates)
iv. HUSID number or institutional ID (this may be helpful if you choose to crosscheck most up-to-date email address with another department – e.g. alumni relations).

4) After any checking to see if email addresses are available for the selected sample, please then delete any of the selected cases that do not have a valid email address and save the resulting file as 'Final sample.xls'. **This is your final selected sample for the survey.** Make a note of the total number remaining in 'Box C' of the reporting form.

Option B – If you choose to sample graduates from DLHE extracts held on file or the database to be used does not have a feature that allows the random selection of individuals please follow instructions 1 to 6 below using the supplied random selection tool ('Random tool.xls'). This will provide a random probability sample of graduates (a systematic probability sample to be precise). These steps have been designed for use with Excel 2007. Other versions of Excel may differ slightly. If you are unsure about any of the steps involved or have any queries please contact Will Hunt using the contact details at the bottom of this protocol.

1) Open the DLHE extract for each cohort and select the target population by selecting all first degree graduates in the database from the domiciles, cohorts, and subjects listed in Table 1 (above), including those who studied full-time and part-time, filtering out any graduates from the excluded categories. Please record the total number in 'Box A' of the reporting form (appendix 1).

2) Extract the following details for all of the individuals identified and paste them into a blank Excel file (without a header line). The details to be extracted are:
i. Full name
ii. Personal email address (the most up-to-date email address you have for the graduate/student)
iii. Institutional email address (if this is still used by your institution to contact graduates)
iv. HUSID number or institutional ID (this may be helpful if you choose to crosscheck most up-to-date email address with another department – e.g. alumni relations).

3) Open the supplied random selection tool ('Random tool.xls') and type the total number of cases in the Excel spreadsheet you have just prepared into the box titled 'Valid population' and press 'enter' on your keyboard. Then click the 'Generate Sample' button in the random selection tool. This will generate two columns of numbers (columns E and F).

4) Copy column F from the random sampling tool and paste it next to the extracted sample in your Excel file. Two out of every three individuals in your sample file starting from a random point between 1 and 3 will now have a '1' next to them. These are the individuals who have been 'selected' to be surveyed.

5) Next you need to sort the individuals in the file by the random number you generated previously. Highlight all the data in your sample file from the header row down. Right click

anywhere in the highlighted area move your cursor down to sort, then left click on 'custom sort'. A dialogue box will appear. In the 'Sort by' box select the column containing your random number (0 or 1), in the 'Sort on' box select 'Values', and in the 'Order' box select 'Largest to smallest'. Click 'OK'. This will sort your sample with all selected individuals at the top and all those with a '0' at the bottom. Delete all individuals with a '0' next to their data and record the total number selected in 'Box B' of the reporting form (appendix 1).

6) After any checking to see if email addresses are available for the selected sample, please then delete any of the selected cases that do not have a valid email address and save the resulting file as 'Final sample.xls'. **This is your final selected sample for the survey.** Make a note of the total number remaining in 'Box C' of the reporting form (appendix 1).

Contacting participants

The survey is scheduled to open in mid to late August and will be open for eight weeks. The lead researcher Will Hunt will contact you at a later date to let you know when the survey will officially open and at what date you can start emailing people to invite them to take part in the survey. **It is essential that the selected graduates are contacted as soon as possible after the start date so that they have plenty of time to complete the survey**. If you anticipate any difficulties carrying out a mail merge around this period (e.g. due to staff holidays, etc), please contact Will as soon as possible to let him know.

[NOTE - To save confusion, draft standardised email invites and reminders have not been included in this protocol. You will be provided with a suggested standardised email invites and reminders when Will gets in touch with you prior to the survey going live. (The remaining instructions below are included in order to give you advanced warning of the contacting task involved).]

As mentioned previously, the best person for this task will vary from institutions to institution but is likely to be the person responsible for contacting graduates for the DLHE survey. In many cases this will be someone within careers or alumni relations. In institutions where a third party contractor is employed to carry out the DLHE survey it is suggested that an alternative member of staff with familiarity with mail merges is found. Again, a member of staff from within careers or alumni relations is likely to be most suited. If you are uncertain who the best person for the task will be please contact the lead researcher, Will Hunt, using the contact details below.

The survey is an online survey that can be completed using any Windows, Apple, or Android based operating system including desktop, laptop and mobile devices. Participants will be invited to take part in the survey via email. For consistency of approach and in order to achieve a decent response rate a standardised suggested email invite will be provided (see note above). The wording of the initial invitation email is designed to encourage response whilst also providing enough information for recipients to make an informed choice about responding to the survey. Although, as far as possible it will be intended to be a standardised invitation it is recognised that institutions may want to amend the email to fit in with their own policies regarding contacting graduates for surveys. If this is the case please contact the Will Hunt to discuss any changes you intend to make.

Once the contact details for your selected sample are ready and you are happy with the email wording to be used please conduct an email mail merge extracting the first name of the respondent and the personal email address from the sample file (if you still use institutional email addresses to

contact graduates this could be used in addition to their personal email address). If you are not familiar with conducting an email mail merge please contact Will who will be able to provide you with detailed instructions on how to conduct a mail merge using Microsoft Office or Google Apps.

Reminders

In order to ensure a reasonable response rate and give graduates a reasonable chance to respond to the survey, it is suggested that a reminder email be sent at at least two time points to remind recipients about the survey and encourage participation. Suggested intervals after the initial invitation are:

1) Two weeks after the initial invitation email has been sent,
2) Then at four weeks after the initial email invite has been sent.

Suggested text for the reminders will be provided at a later date prior to the survey going live (see note above). As with the initial invite wording, please contact the Will to discuss any changes you intend to implement. Two reminders have been suggested so as to keep the burden on institutions to a minimum. However, should you wish to send any additional reminders to encourage response rates please feel free to do so. If you do intend to send additional reminders please let Will know so that a record can be kept.

Reporting back on the sample

In order to be able to assess response rates and calculate any survey weights that may be necessary for analysis, it will be necessary for institutional contacts to keep a record of and report back the following:

a. The total number of graduates in the relevant population (i.e. all graduates that meet the criteria in Table 1 above),
b. The total number of graduates sampled (i.e. the number of graduates 'selected' for the sample),
c. The total number of those selected for whom a valid email address was available (i.e. the number after deleting cases that did not have a valid email address).

Please fill in the form provided (Appendix 1) and return this information to Will Hunt either by email or by phone using the contact details below.

Contact details

The lead researcher on the project is Will Hunt. Please liaise with Will to confirm that you are happy with the sampling and contacting tasks involved in the survey and who will be carrying out the different tasks. It is also essential that you let him know when email invites and reminders have gone out the graduates and to report back on the numbers contacted. Will can be contacted by email or phone using the following details and will be happy to discuss any issues related to the project or the sampling tasks involved.

Will Hunt
Email: william.hunt@port.ac.uk
Mob: 0783[redacted]
Tel: 0239 28[redacted]

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Appendix 2 – Anticipated Survey Timeline

	23/06	30/06	07/07	14/07	21/07	28/07	04/08	11/08	18/08	25/08	01/09	08/09	15/09	22/09	29/09	06/10
Register interest																
Ethical approval (UoP)*																
Liaise with HEIs																
Extract sample																
Survey open																
Initial invite																
Reminders (suggested)																

*This is the ethical approval process that needs to be sought internally at the University of Portsmouth in order to adhere to the universities research ethics policy. Ethical approval has now been granted

Appendix D: Development interviews discussion guide (CGCS)

[Background about the research, confidentiality and anonymity, right to withdraw]

A) Background

- University (course, when graduated)

- current employment situation

- how many internships have you done

-brief details

B) Definitions

- How would you define what an ‘internship’ is?

- What makes a job/post an internship as opposed to other types of job or work experience?

C) Features

- What might an internship involve (FT/PT, pay, contract, expectations, tasks)?

- What sorts of things did you do?

- What sorts of development experiences did it involve (formal/informal, any training, etc.)?

- Are these experiences any different to what other staff might do/get?

D) Access

- How did you find out about your internships?

- Is this how people normally find out about internships (to your knowledge)?

- Was there a formal recruitment procedure?

E) Motivations and plans for the future

- What made you want to apply for an internship (i.e. why do an internship)?

- What other options might have been open to you?

- How does it fit in with your plans (if thought about)?

- What would you like to be doing in five years?

F) Attitudes and reflections

- What do you feel you have got out of it?

- How do you feel about the future, the graduate labour market and has this changed?

- On reflection how do you feel about your experiences?

Appendix E: Online questionnaire text (CGCS – inc. explanation notes)

[The survey makes use of Typeform, which is an interactive online survey tool, and makes use of routing to make sure respondents only answer relevant questions. This Word version of the questionnaire contains the precise wordings of all of the questions and gives an overview of the routing. Please bear in mind that respondents will not be asked all of the questions in this document, but only a selection of these that are relevant depending upon the answers they give (eg depending on whether they are currently in work or not and how many jobs they have).]

In this document:

- Text marked with a capital letter from 'A' to 'L' are statements. These are used to introduce sections of the survey and to provide respondents with guidance;
- Numbered items are survey questions which record answers;
- Response categories are provided within square brackets and can be multi-choice, multi-response, short text, or numeric;
- Highlighted text in square brackets denotes where there is question routing.

Welcome screen

The *Creative Graduates' Careers Survey* is an independent survey of the early career patterns and experiences of graduates from UK courses in art, design, craft, media and communications related subjects. We would like to know about your experiences since

leaving university and how you feel about different types of work experiences. Your responses to the survey will be completely anonymous.

For further information about the survey, including how and why you were contacted, what taking part involves and what will happen to your responses please check out the ‘Additional Information’ at https://sites.google.com/a/port.ac.uk/cgcs/.

[START]

Main body of survey

A – Please note. Your answers will not be saved until you complete the survey and hit 'submit'. The survey should take 10-15 minutes to complete.
If you close before hitting 'submit' your answers will not be saved.

[Got it]

B - You were invited to take part in this survey by the university where you completed your undergraduate degree. Please confirm some details about your degree by answering a couple of questions.
(Section 1 of 5)

[CONTINUE]

1 - At which of the following universities did you complete your undergraduate degree?
If you have degrees from more than one institution please select the one that emailed you about this survey. If you don't see your institution, select 'other' and you can enter it in the next question.

[redacted]
Other]

[IF ‘OTHER’ GO TO 2; ELSE GO TO C]

2 - What was the name of the university where you completed your degree?
Please type below

[TEXT]

[GO TO D]

C - The next few questions will be about the degree you completed at [Answer to 1].
D - The next few questions will be about the degree you completed at [Answer to 2].

[OK]

3 - What year did you complete your degree?

[2008, 2010, 2012, other year]

[IF ‘OTHER’ GO TO 4; ELSE GO TO 5]

4 - Please enter the year you completed your degree.

[NUMBER]

5 - What was the title of your degree?

[TEXT]

6 – What was the classification of your degree?

[First, 2:1, 2:2, Third, Pass, Other]

7 - Did you undertake a work placement or internship **during your course**?

[Yes, part of course; Yes – not part of course; Yes – both; No]

[IF ‘YES’ GO TO 8; IF ‘NO’ AND Q3=2008, 2010 OR 2012 GO TO E; IF ‘NO’ AND Q3=’OTHER YEAR’ GO TO F]

8 - How many work placements or internships did you do?
Enter using number keys. Please only include internships or placements that you did whilst still at university

[Number]

9 - With hindsight how useful would you say these work placements/internships have been to the development of your career so far?
[Not at all useful, Quite useful, Very useful, Don’t know]

E - We are interested in what graduates do after leaving university. This section asks about what sorts of activities you have been doing since you finished your course in [*What year did you complete your degree?*]
F - We are interested in what graduates do after leaving university. This section asks about what sorts of activities you have been doing since you finished your course in [*Answer to 4*] (Section 2 of 5)

[CONTINUE]

[ALL ARE ASKED]

10 - Which of the following types of activities are you **currently** doing?
Please select all that apply. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options. If 'other' select and type in.

a) Temporary or fixed-term employment
b) Permanent employment
c) Self-employed (freelance or running own business)
f) Developing a portfolio/creative practice or doing studio work
g) Internship (paid or unpaid)
h) Voluntary work (for a charity or government body)
d) Further study, education or training (with qualification)
e) Independent study/informal learning
i) Unemployed and looking for work
j) Time out/career break
k) Maternity/family caring responsibility
l) Other

[IF Q10='g)' GO TO 11]

11 - You said you were currently doing an internship. Is this paid or unpaid?
Select one only

[Paid, Unpaid, Both (I am doing more than one)]

[ALL ARE ASKED]

12 - Which of the following types of activity have you done **at any time since graduation**?
Please select all that apply. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options. If 'other' select and type in.

a) Temporary or fixed-term employment
b) Permanent employment
c) Self-employed (freelance or running own

business)
f) Developing a portfolio/creative practice or doing studio work
g) Internship (paid or unpaid)
h) Voluntary work (for a charity or government body)
d) Further study, education or training (with qualification)
e) Independent study/informal learning
i) Unemployed and looking for work
j) Time out/career break
k) Maternity/family caring responsibility
l) Other

[IF Q10='g)' OR Q12='g)'GO TO 13]

13 - How many internships have you engaged in **since completing your degree**: a) in total, and b) that were unpaid?
Please include any you are still doing
a) Total number of internships since graduating
Enter using number keys
[Number]
b) Unpaid internships since graduating
Enter using number keys
[Number]

14 - Just thinking of any internships you have done since graduating, how useful has/have your internship(s) been to the development of your career so far?
Please only include any you have done since leaving university

[Not at all useful, Quite useful, Very useful, Don't know/Not sure]

[ALL ARE ASKED]

15 - Since graduating from your course have you...

a) ...done any teaching?
   [Yes, in a subject rel to degree; Yes, in another subject; No]
b) ...worked in the creative industries, or an industry related to information and mass communications (inc. PR, Advertising, media and information)?
   [Yes, paid; Yes, unpaid; No]
c) ...worked in an area directly related to your degree?
   [Yes, paid; Yes, unpaid; No]

[IF Q10='a)' TO 'h)OR Q12='a)' TO 'h)' GO TO G; ELSE GO TO J]

G - In this next section we are going to ask you some details about any work or work-related activities that you are currently engaged in.
(Section 3 of 5)

[CONTINUE]

16 - You previously indicated that you were currently doing at least one form of work or work-related activity. How many individual jobs or work activities are you doing at present? This could include any temporary or permanent jobs, self-employment, freelance work, internships, voluntary work, or developing a portfolio/creative practice. Please count each individual job or instance.

[One, Two, Three, Four or more]

[IF Q16='ONE' >> Respondents are routed to Q37 to Q43]
[IF Q16='TWO' >> Respondents are routed to I and are asked Q17 to Q29]
[IF Q16='THREE' >> Respondents are routed to H and are asked Q17 to Q36]
[IF Q16='FOUR OR MORE' >> Respondents are routed to H and are asked Q17 to Q36]

H - You said you are currently engaged in 3, or more than 3, work-related activities. In this next section we would like to ask you about the three that you spend the most time on. (If this is incorrect please go back one question by scrolling or using the arrow buttons)

[CONTINUE]

I - You said you are currently engaged in 2 work-related activities. In this next section we would like to ask you about both of these.

[CONTINUE]

17 - Starting with the job/activity that you spend **the most time on**, which of the following best describes this activity?

[SE/Freelance, Perm emp, Temp emp, Internship (paid/unpaid), Vol work, Creative prac/portfolio, Other]

18 - What label or job title best describes this job/activity?

[TEXT]

19 - In which industry/sector is this job/activity?
Drop down list. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.
If your industry is not listed, select 'other' and you can enter it in the next question.

Advertising and publicity
Architecture
Art market and antiques (inc. fine arts practice)
Computer/video games and software
Crafts
Cultural heritage (museums, galleries, libraries and arts facilities)
Design
Fashion, textiles and apparel
Film, video and photography

Performing arts and music
Publishing and literary arts (inc. news)
TV and Radio
National/local government
IT/business services
Manufacturing/engineering
Health and social work
Banking and finance
Retailing
Hotel and catering
Leisure
Research and development
Education
Non-profit making organisations/charities
Other (please specify)

20 – In which 'other' industry/sector is this job/activity?
Please specify

[Text box]

20 - On average is this job/activity full-time or part-time?

[FT (25+), PT (<25)]

21 - Approximately, how many people are there in the organisation as a whole?

[Just me, 2-10, 11-50, 51-250, 250+, DK]

22 - All jobs involve a range of different types of tasks. On a scale of 1 to 10 how much of your time in this job/activity would you say is spent on interesting/challenging tasks as opposed to routine/mundane tasks?
More stars indicates more time spent on interesting tasks and less time on routine tasks

[1*,2*,3*,4*,5*, 6*, 7*, 8*, 9*, 10*]

23 – Which of the following best describes the job/activity that you spend the **second** most time on?

[SE/Freelance, Perm emp, Temp emp, Internship (paid/unpaid), Vol work, Creative prac/portfolio]

24 - What label or job title best describes this **second** job/activity?

[TEXT]

25 - In which industry/sector is this **second** job/activity?
Drop down list. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.
If your industry is not listed, select 'other' and you can enter it in the next question.

Advertising and publicity
Architecture
Art market and antiques (inc. fine arts practice)
Computer/video games and software
Crafts
Cultural heritage (museums, galleries, libraries and arts facilities)
Design
Fashion, textiles and apparel
Film, video and photography
Performing arts and music
Publishing and literary arts (inc. news)
TV and Radio
National/local government
IT/business services
Manufacturing/engineering
Health and social work
Banking and finance
Retailing
Hotel and catering
Leisure
Research and development
Education
Non-profit making organisations/charities
Other (please specify)

26 – In which 'other' industry/sector is this **second** job/activity?
Please specify

[Text box]

27 - On average is this **second** job/activity full-time or part-time?

[FT (25+), PT (<25)]

28 - Approximately, how many people are there in the organisation as a whole?

[Just me, 2-10, 11-50, 51-250, 250+, DK]

29 - On a scale of 1 to 10 how much of your time in this **second** job/activity would you say is spent on interesting/challenging tasks as opposed to routine/mundane tasks?
More stars indicates more time spent on interesting tasks and less time on routine tasks

[1*,2*,3*,4*,5*, 6*, 7*, 8*, 9*, 10*]

[IF Q16='TWO' GO TO 'J']

30 – Which of the following best describes the job/activity that you spend the **third** most time on?

[SE/Freelance, Perm emp, Temp emp, Internship (paid/unpaid), Vol work, Creative prac/portfolio]

31 - What label or job title best describes this **third** job/activity?

[TEXT]

32 - In which industry/sector is this **third** job/activity?
Drop down list. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.
If your industry is not listed, select 'other' and you can enter it in the next question.

Advertising and publicity
Architecture
Art market and antiques (inc. fine arts practice)
Computer/video games and software
Crafts
Cultural heritage (museums, galleries, libraries and arts facilities)
Design
Fashion, textiles and apparel
Film, video and photography
Performing arts and music
Publishing and literary arts (inc. news)
TV and Radio
National/local government
IT/business services
Manufacturing/engineering
Health and social work
Banking and finance
Retailing
Hotel and catering
Leisure
Research and development
Education
Non-profit making organisations/charities
Other (please specify)

33 – In which 'other' industry/sector is this **third** job/activity?
Please specify

[Text box]

34 - On average is this **third** job/activity full-time or part-time?

[FT (25+), PT (<25)]

35 - Approximately, how many people are there in the organisation as a whole?

[Just me, 2-10, 11-50, 51-250, 250+, DK]

36 - On a scale of 1 to 10 how much of your time in this **third** job/activity would you say is spent on interesting/challenging tasks as opposed to routine/mundane tasks?
More stars indicates more time spent on interesting tasks and less time on routine tasks

[1*, 2*,3*,4*,5*, 6*, 7*, 8*, 9*, 10*]

[IF Q16='THREE' OR 'FOUR OR MORE' GO TO J]

37 – Which of the following best describes this job/activity?

[SE/Freelance, Perm emp, Temp emp, Internship (paid/unpaid), Vol work, Creative prac/portfolio]

38 - What label or job title best describes this job/activity?

[TEXT]

39 - In which industry/sector is this job/activity?
Drop down list. You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.
If your industry is not listed, select 'other' and you can enter it in the next question.

Advertising and publicity
Architecture
Art market and antiques (inc. fine arts practice)
Computer/video games and software
Crafts
Cultural heritage (museums, galleries, libraries and arts facilities)
Design
Fashion, textiles and apparel
Film, video and photography
Performing arts and music
Publishing and literary arts (inc. news)
TV and Radio
National/local government
IT/business services
Manufacturing/engineering
Health and social work
Banking and finance
Retailing
Hotel and catering
Leisure
Research and development
Education

Non-profit making organisations/charities
Other (please specify)

40 – In which 'other' industry/sector is this job/activity?
Please specify

[Text box]

41 - On average is this job/activity full-time or part-time?

[FT (25+), PT (<25)]

42 - Approximately, how many people are there in the organisation as a whole?

[Just me, 2-10, 11-50, 51-250, 250+, DK]

43 - All jobs involve a range of different types of tasks. On a scale of 1 to 10 how much of your time in this job/activity would you say is spent on interesting/challenging tasks as opposed to routine/mundane tasks?
More stars indicates more time spent on interesting tasks and less time on routine tasks

[1*, 2*, 3*,4*,5*, 6*, 7*, 8*, 9*, 10*]

[ALL ARE ASKED]

J - We are interested to know people's views about different forms of employment. On a scale of 1 to 5 please indicate how good you feel each type of employment is for developing the different things stated.
(Section 4 of 5)

[CONTINUE]

44 – How good are the following for **developing industry-specific skills and knowledge.**
On a scale of 1 to 5

a) A permanent Job. [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]
In your chosen industry/discipline

b) A paid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

c) An unpaid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

d) Self-employment or freelance work [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

e) Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

45 – How good are the following for **developing professional networks**
On a scale of 1 to 5

a) A permanent Job. [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]
In your chosen industry/discipline

b) A paid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

c) An unpaid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

d) Self-employment or freelance work [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

e) Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice[1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

46 – How good are the following for **providing the opportunity to develop your career.**
On a scale of 1 to 5

a) A permanent Job. [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]
In your chosen industry/discipline

b) A paid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

c) An unpaid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

d) Self-employment or freelance work [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

e) Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice[1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

47 – How good are the following for **giving you the opportunity to be creative and develop your own ideas.**
On a scale of 1 to 5

a) A permanent Job. [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]
In your chosen industry/discipline

b) A paid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

c) An unpaid internship [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

d) Self-employment or freelance work [1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

e) Developing a professional portfolio/creative practice[1*,2*,3*,4*, 5*]

48 – We are interested to know how people feel about their overall working situation. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

a) I am satisfied with my overall work situation
b) I feel my skills and knowledge are well utilised in my work
c) I feel I am able to be creative in my work
d) Generally, my work is related to the subject of my degree
e) I have little autonomy and independence in my work
f) Overall, I feel that my earnings reflect my qualifications and experience

[Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Agree strongly]

49 – How close to your chosen career do you consider yourself to be?
[Not at all close, Fairly close, Very close, In my chosen career, Don't know]

50 – In general, how optimistic do you feel about your future career?
[Not at all optimistic, Quite optimistic, Very optimistic, Don't know]

K – Finally, we would just like to know a few details about you.
(Section 5 of 5)

[CONTINUE]

51 - When you started your undergraduate degree how were you classified?

[A 'Home' (i.e. UK domiciled) student; A European Union (EU) student; A non-EU/overseas student; Don't know]

52 - Which region/country was your main residence before starting your undergraduate degree?
You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.

[Northern Ireland
Scotland
Wales
North East England
North West England
Yorkshire and Humberside
West Midlands
East Midlands
East Anglia
Greater London
South East England
South West England
Other UK (e.g. Channel Islands/Isle of Mann)]

53 – In which region/country do you live now?
You may need to scroll down or use cursor keys to see all the options.

[Northern Ireland
Scotland
Wales
North East England
North West England
Yorkshire and Humberside
West Midlands
East Midlands
East Anglia

Greater London
South East England
South West England
Other UK (e.g. Channel Islands/Isle of Mann)
Other EU
Another country outside the EU]

54 – What was your age on your last birthday?

[NUMBER]

55 - Which of the following best describes your ethnic group?

[White, Mixed, Asian or Asian British, Black or Black British, Other]

56 - Before you went to university, had anyone in your immediate family studied at a university, polytechnic or college of higher education?

[Yes, Parent(s); Yes, brother or sister; No; Other]

57 - In which of the following bands is your gross personal annual income (i.e. before tax)? This is so we can analyse graduate pay. All of your answers to this survey are anonymous.

[£5000 or less,
£5001 to £10000,
£10001 to £15000,
£15001 to £20000,
£20001 to £25000,
£25001 to £30000,
£30001 to £40000,
£40001 to £50000,
More than £50000,
Prefer not to say]

58 - How well would you say you are managing financially these days?

[Living comfortably, Getting by, finding it difficult, Don’t know/Not sure]

L - That's all the questions. If you are happy with your answers, please click ‘Ok’ and then hit 'Submit'.
Or scroll down and hit 'submit'

[Ok]

[SUBMIT]

Thank you page

Thank you! Your answers have been sent!
If you would like to tell us more about your story and would like to take part in a follow-up interview, or you would just like to be kept informed about findings from the survey, please click the button below and you will be redirected to a separate form where you can record your preferences. Otherwise, please simply close this page.

[Keep in touch]
{redirects to another Typeform where respondent can register interest and can leave contact details}

Appendix F: Email invites and reminders (CGCS)

Initial invite

Subject: Creative Graduates' Careers Survey – tell us your story

Dear <NAME>,

We along with 15 other universities and colleges are supporting a major independent research study of the early careers patterns and experiences of graduates from UK courses in art, design, craft, media and communications related subjects. The survey follows the highly influential Creative Graduates Creative Futures survey, which took place in 2008 and contributed to real change in the way employability and careers are delivered in UK higher education institutions. The results of the current survey aim to update the data on creative graduates' careers, feed into debates about graduate employment and higher education, and to inform future students about 'real' career choices.

We are writing on behalf of the lead researcher on the project at the University of Portsmouth to invite YOU to take part because we want to hear your story:

- about your experiences since completing your undergraduate degree – the kinds of work and activities you've been doing, whether directly related or unrelated to your course

- about the developmental and career outcomes related to your early career experiences

- and how you feel about your work situation and the future.

How to join in: Please take a few minutes to follow the link to complete the survey on-line at [LINK HERE] . The survey should take just 10-15 minutes to complete, and can be completed using a computer, tablet or smartphone.

Alternatively, you can speak to the lead researcher, Will Hunt on 0239 284XXXX, or email your number to william.hunt@port.ac.uk and he will take your responses by phone.

Your contribution to this research is invaluable. Please be assured that all replies will be held securely and will be anonymous - no individual will be identified at any stage. Thank you for your help and we wish you all the best for the future.

Yours sincerely

<Name of Head of College/Principal/Dean>

<Title>

Note – your details were randomly selected by us to take part in the survey. Be assured that none of your contact information or personal details have been passed on to the researcher or to any other third party.

Further information about the survey and the research can be found at https://sites.google.com/a/port.ac.uk/cgcs/ , including information about how you were selected and contacted to take part in the research.

First reminder email

Subject: Creative Graduates' Careers Survey – we want to hear your story

Dear <NAME>,

We recently emailed you to invite you to take part in a major independent study of the early career patterns and experiences of graduates from UK courses in art, design, craft, media and communications related subjects. The research team would really be interested to hear from you and so if you would like to participate please click on the following link:

[LINK HERE]

The survey should take just 10-15 minutes to do and can be completed using a computer, tablet or smartphone.

The results of the survey aim to update what is known about the real career experiences of graduates and will contribute towards improvements in employability and careers guidance for future students.

If you have any queries about the study or would like help to complete the survey please contact Will Hunt (0239 284XXXX, william.hunt@port.ac.uk)

Your contribution to this research is invaluable. Please be assured that all responses will be securely stored and will be anonymous - no individual will be identified at any stage. Thank you for your help and we wish you all the best for the future.

Yours sincerely

<Name of Head of College/Principal/Dean>

<Title>

Note – your details were randomly selected by us to take part in the survey. Be assured that none of your contact information or personal details have been passed on to the researcher or to any other third party.

Further information about the survey and the research can be found at https://sites.google.com/a/port.ac.uk/cgcs/ , including information about how you were selected and contacted to take part in the research.

Second reminder email

Subject: Creative Graduates' Careers Survey – last chance to take part

Dear <NAME>,

This email is just a quick reminder about the independent survey we are currently supporting looking at the early career patterns and experiences of graduates from UK courses in art, design, craft, media and communications.

The survey will close at 11.59pm on [Day] the [Date]. So if you haven't done so already please take a look at the survey online by clicking on the following link:

[LINK HERE]

The survey should take just 10-15 minutes to do and can be completed using a computer, tablet or smartphone.

The results of the survey aim to update what is known about the real career experiences of graduates and will contribute towards improvements in employability and careers guidance for future students.

If you have any queries about the study or would like help to complete the survey please contact Will Hunt (0239 284XXXX, william.hunt@port.ac.uk)

Your contribution to this research will be invaluable. Please be assured that all responses will be stored securely and will be anonymous - no individual will be identified at any stage. Thank you for your help and we wish you all the best for the future.

Yours sincerely

<Name of Head of College/Principal/Dean>

<Title>

Note – your details were randomly selected by us to take part in the survey. Be assured that none of your contact information or personal details have been passed on to the researcher or to any other third party.

Further information about the survey and the research can be found at https://sites.google.com/a/port.ac.uk/cgcs/ , including information about how you were selected and contacted to take part in the research.

Appendix G: Additional information page (CGCS)

The *Creative Graduates' Careers Survey* is a survey of the early careers patterns and experiences of graduates from UK courses in art, design, craft, media and communications related subjects.

The survey aims to find out about the real career experiences of creative graduates, their motivations, reflections, skills development and employment outcomes. Please take a moment to read the following information so that you can make an informed choice about whether or not you are happy to proceed with the survey.

Key points:

- You have been selected and invited to take part by the university where you completed your undergraduate degree because you studied one of the eligible subjects covered by the survey. Your university contacted you directly themselves and none of your contact details or other information about you has been passed on by your university to the researcher or any other third party in relation to this survey.

- Taking part in this survey is entirely voluntary. You do not have to complete the survey if you don't want to. If you start the survey you can stop at any time and the information you provide will not be save until you hit 'Submit'.

- Responses to the survey will be anonymous and your answers will be treated as confidential. All data will be stored securely. You will not be asked to provide your name or contact details unless you indicate that you would be interested in taking part in a follow-up interview. If you are interested in being kept informed about the study, you will be redirected to another online form where you will only be asked for a first name and an email address. These details will be stored separately from your question answers.

- Data from the survey will be analysed in aggregate to provide research statistics. You will not be identifiable in any research report or any tables produced using the data. The data will only be held for as long as is necessary for the research and any subsequent publications and will be disposed of securely thereafter.

If you have any queries about the survey or would like help to complete the survey please contact lead researcher Will Hunt by email at william.hunt@port.ac.uk or by phone on 0239 284XXXX.

To complete the survey click here.

Frequently Asked Questions

What is the purpose of the survey?

The survey aims to capture the varied and sometimes complex early career experiences of creative graduates in a much more flexible way than is currently possible in other graduate surveys. The survey makes up part of the lead researcher's PhD programme of study and the results will aim to feed into debates about graduate employment and the labour market, and to inform future students about 'real' career choices. The survey aims to provide data that universities can use to improve course provision and careers advice.

Why have I been invited to take part in the survey?

You have been randomly selected and invited to take part in the survey by your university because you graduated from a course in a subject related to art, design, performance, craft, media, journalism, PR or another related communications subject. No contact details or other information about you has been passed on by your university to the research team or anyone else in relation to this survey.

Do I have to take part?

Although we would be delighted to hear your story participation in the survey is entirely voluntary and you do not have to take part in the survey. No information about who did or did not take part in the survey will be fed back to any institution.

What will taking part involve?

All that is needed to take part in the research is to complete the online questionnaire by answering the questions presented. The majority of questions are closed type questions that do not require a great level of detailed or technical information. The online questionnaire is designed to be as brief and to the point as possible and should take 10-15 minutes to complete on average.

Are there any disadvantages to taking part in the survey?

Apart from the time taken to complete the survey there should be no other disadvantages to taking part. You will not be asked for any detailed sensitive or financial data that could be used to harm you in any way.

What are the advantages in taking part?

By taking part in the research you will be contributing to an understudied area of research. The findings of the research will aim to extend understanding about what happens to graduates after leaving university and about their early work experiences. It will also aim to provide data that universities can use to improve the information, advice and guidance that they are able to give their students.

Will my answers be kept confidential?

You will not be asked to provide your name or any contact details during the survey unless you indicate that you would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview,

in which case you will be redirected to a separate site and only asked to provide a first name and an email address. The majority of questions in the survey ask for closed 'Yes/No', drop-down or multiple choice type answers. These will be combined with the answers of other participants and analysed in aggregate in order to provide statistical data. In addition, none of the answers you give will be quoted verbatim. Therefore, it is very unlikely that you will be identifiable in any research report coming out of the survey.

Your answers will be encrypted using SSL encryption and held on a secure survey located within the UK. No one will have access to this data apart from the lead researcher whose contact details are at the bottom of this page. Once the survey is closed the data will be extracted and stored on a password protected computer system. Data will not be kept for any longer than is necessary for the research and any subsequent publications and will be disposed of securely thereafter.

What happens if I don't want to complete the survey?

Participation is entirely voluntary. You don't have to complete the survey. If you do not want to start the survey simply close the window/tab or navigate away from the web page. If you start the survey and decide not to continue you can stop at any time and leave the web page you are on. Your answers will not be save until you hit the 'Submit' button. If you submit your answers and would like your response to be removed from the survey database it may be possible to delete your response from the survey before the survey closes by contacting the researcher providing the time and date that you started and/or submitted the survey. It will not be possible to delete your response after the survey has closed.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher in the first instance who will do their best to answer your questions (William.hunt@port.ac.uk). If you are still dissatisfied and wish to speak to someone else you can contact the researcher's supervisor Dr Peter Scott (peter.scott@port.ac.uk). If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the Chair of the Portsmouth Business School Ethics committee (lisa.jack@port.ac.uk).

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The data from the survey will be analysed and the findings will contribute towards the PhD research of the lead researcher (contact details below). Some of the findings from the survey may also be published in research reports or academic journals. Anonymised aggregated tables for institutions' own graduates will also be provided to participating universities so long as the number of responses is large enough to ensure the anonymity of participants.

Individual participants will not be named or identified in any report or publication.

Who is funding and supporting the research?

The research is being sponsored by the University of Portsmouth and is being conducted by a researcher at the university as part of his PhD research. The survey is also endorsed by the Council for Higher Education in Art and Design (CHEAD). A number of universities that are members of CHEAD have helped support the survey by selecting and contacting previous students in order to invite them to take part in the survey.

Who has reviewed the study?

Research in the University of Portsmouth is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. The survey method and approach used in this study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by Portsmouth Business School Research Ethics Committee. Further information about research ethics and the review process can be found at http://www.port.ac.uk/research/ethics/

Further information and contact details

If you are unsure about anything related to this survey or you would like to find out more, please contact the lead researcher Will Hunt, either by email at William.hunt@port.ac.uk, or by telephone on 0239 284 XXXX.

Appendix H: Creative occupations

SOC(2010)	Unit group title
1132	Marketing and sales directors
1134	Advertising and public relations directors
1225	Leisure and sport managers
2136	Programmers and software development professionals
2137	Web design and development professionals
2431	Architects
2451	Librarians
2452	Archivists and curators
2471	Journalists, newspaper and periodical editors
2472	Public relations professionals
2473	Advertising account managers and creative directors
3121	Architectural and town planning technicians
3122	Draughtspersons
3411	Artists
3412	Authors, writers and translators
3413	Actors, entertainers and presenters
3414	Dancers and choreographers
3415	Musicians
3416	Arts officers, producers and directors
3417	Photographers, audio-visual and broadcasting equipment operators
3421	Graphic designers
3422	Product, clothing and related designers
3541	Buyers and procurement officers
3543	Marketing associate professionals
5411	Weavers and knitters
5412	Upholsterers
5413	Footwear and leather working trades
5414	Tailors and dressmakers
5419	Textiles, garments and related trades n.e.c.
5421	Pre-press technicians
5422	Printers

5423	Print finishing and binding workers
5441	Glass and ceramics makers, decorators and finishers
5442	Furniture makers and other craft woodworkers
5443	Florists
5449	Other skilled trades n.e.c.
7125	Merchandisers and window dressers
8112	Glass and ceramics process operatives
8113	Textile process operatives

Appendix I: Ethical approval form and response

PBS ETHICS APPROVAL V4: 2014

Ethics Approval Form - Students

This form should be completed by the student and passed to the supervisor prior to a review of the possible ethical implications of the proposed dissertation or project.

No primary data collection can be undertaken before the supervisor has approved the plan.

If, following review of this form, amendments to the proposals are agreed to be necessary, the student should provide the supervisor with an amended version for endorsement.

The final signed and dated version of this form must be handed in with the dissertation. The form MUST be signed and dated by both the student AND the supervisor. If the dissertation is submitted without a fully completed, signed and dated ethics form it will be deemed to be a fail. Second attempt assessment may be permitted by the Board of Examiners.

1. What are the objectives of the dissertation / research project?

To investigate the role internships play in the graduate labour market and how they compare to other career experiences by focusing on the following aims:

1) to examine the extent and nature of internships in sectors where they are increasingly commonplace and the role they play in terms of individuals' development and future careers;

2)to investigate how interns access opportunities, how they manage them, and what they do afterwards;

3) to examine the impact of internships in terms of employment outcomes and skills development;

4) to explore issues relating to accessibility of internships for different groups and implications for social mobility and access to certain occupations/industries.

2. Does the research involve *NHS patients, resources or staff*? / **NO** (please circle).

   If YES, it is likely that full ethical review must be obtained from the NHS process before the research can start.

3. *Does the research involve MoD staff?* / **NO** (please circle).

   If YES, then ethical review may need to be undertaken by MoD REC. Please discuss your proposal with your Supervisor and/or Course Leader and, if necessary, include a copy of your MoD REC application for quality review.

4. Do you intend to collect *primary data* from human subjects or data that are identifiable with individuals? (This includes, for example, questionnaires and interviews.) **YES** / (please circle)

   If you do not intend to collect such primary data then please go to question 15.

   If you do intend to collect such primary data then please respond to ALL the questions 5 through 14. If you feel a question does not apply then please respond with n/a (for not applicable).

5. How will the primary data contribute to the objectives of the dissertation / research project?

The objectives have already been subject to preliminary exploration through the secondary analysis of anonymised data from the Destinations of Leavers in Higher Education (DLHE) survey, the results of which help to provide the basis for the primary data collection. However, to fully meet the objectives of the research primary data collection is needed.

The research will involve two methods of primary data collection: i) a quantitative survey of recent graduates, ii) follow-up qualitative interviews with respondents to the quantitative survey who have consented to be interviewed.

1) The aim of the quantitative survey is to fill gaps in the current literature and available secondary data by providing detailed, reliable and generalisable statistical data on the early career experiences of graduates from subject areas where there is a relatively high incidence of internships (i.e. creative arts and design, media, journalism and communications). The survey will look at:

   a) Employment and related activities since graduation (inc. internships and other early career experiences) – *(corresponding to aim 1 above)*;

   b) How they access and manage opportunities – *(corresponding to aim 2 and 4 above)*;

   c) Motivations and reflections towards these experiences – *(corresponding to aim 1 above)*;

   d) Skills development and employment outcomes – *(corresponding to aims 1 and 3 above)*.

2) The quantitative survey will also facilitate recruitment of participants for follow-up qualitative interviews with respondents who consent to this. The aim of the qualitative follow-up interviews will be to complement survey findings by providing a greater level of detail and insights relating to internships and the early career experiences of graduates that cannot be gained through the use of a quantitative survey alone.

6. What is/are the *survey population(s)*?

UK and EU first degree graduates from HEIs with significant provision in CAD and media and communications subjects who graduated in 2007/08, 2009/10 and 2011/12. These subjects are chosen as they reflect sectors where there is a relatively high incidence of internships and unpaid internships in particular (analysis of HESA destinations data for the 11/12 cohort shows that graduates from these subjects are more than twice as likely to engage in internships). The 2, 4 and 6 year cohorts have been chosen as it gives graduates time to have started to make progress in their careers and should be able to reflect back upon their experiences. Also they have been chosen to minimise crossover with the Longitudinal Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education which was conducted on alternate years in between. Only first degree graduates have been chosen in order to minimise the chances of sampling individuals multiple times where they have continued on with their studies (e.g. from FDA to BA, or from BA to MA). This is important to ensure that participants have a known chance of being sampled. International graduates will be excluded from the target population because they are more likely to have returned to their country of domicile and have a different status as regards their right to work in the UK.

HEIs who have been invited to register their interest in taking part in the survey are members of the Council for Higher Education in Art and Design (CHEAD), which is "a long standing association of institutions with higher education provision in art and design" (http://www.chead.ac.uk/about.html). CHEAD represents a membership of 63 HEIs all of whom

have significant provision in the subject areas outlined above. It was decided to approach CHEAD in order to recruit institutions for the following reasons:

a) Between them they have significant numbers of graduates from the subject areas that are of interest to the research;

b) I have worked with them before on a similar study (*Creative Graduates Creative Futures* – CGCF[1]) and therefore know that graduate employment is of interest to them and that they are open to proposed the sampling strategy;

c) I have a contact there from the previous research who was willing to put forward the proposal to CHEAD members.

Thirteen specialist arts HEIs who are members of United Kingdom Arts and Design Institutions Association (ukadia) have also been invited to participate in the survey for the same reasons outlined above.

7. How big is the *sample* for each of the survey populations and how was this sample arrived at?

Because the quantitative survey is reliant upon HEIs volunteering to take part in the survey the population will be graduates of courses in CAD, media and communications from those institutions taking part who graduated in the academic years outlined above. Therefore, it will not be possible to accurately estimate the precise size of the population or the sample size necessary for a given level of accuracy until the number and size of HEIs agreeing to take part is known. However, it is likely that the sample size needed to be contacted to take part will be fairly large relative to the population (ie more than 20%). Therefore, it will be necessary to employ a formula for estimating sample sizes from small populations such as that recommended by Krejcie and Morgan (1970)[2].

Although the precise numbers cannot be calculated at this stage, approximately 12,000 would need to be emailed to achieve a sample of 1,800 grads (inc. 180 interns) assuming a response rate of 15%[3] and a participation rate in internships of 10%[4]. This would achieve a MOE of +/- 2% for graduates and +/- 7% for interns at the 95% confidence level based on a 50/50 split on a given variable. If the incidence of internships is in fact higher a much smaller sample of graduates would be required for the same level of accuracy.

The proportion of graduates that would need to be sampled from each institution (ie sampling fraction) in order to achieve the above sample size will depend on the number and size of institutions taking part in the survey. However, based on an average cohort size of 1,437 for students from the target subjects graduating from the 26 CHEAD institutions that took part in the CGCF survey (estimated from the 2007/08 HESA student data), around 14 HEIs plus the University of the Arts London (who have around 2,755 graduates in the target cohorts), would need to participate in the survey sampling half of the target cohorts each. At the date of writing this application, two weeks after initial contact, seven of the larger CHEAD institutions have

[1] Ball, L., Pollard, E., & Stanley, N., with Dumelow, I., Hunt, W., & Oakley, J. (2010). Creative Graduates Creative Futures. Council for Higher Education in Art and Design, Report 471, University of the Arts London.

[2] Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining Sample Size for Research Activities. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 30, 607-610.

[3] The CGCF survey which used a very similar research methodology achieved a response rate of 18% (Ball, et al., 2010).

[4] 1 in 10 is a conservative estimate for participation in internships based on around 4-5% of graduates in the subject areas in work doing an internship at six months after graduation according to the 11/12 DLHE, and up to 42% of CAD graduates reporting some form of unpaid or voluntary work at some stage during the four to six years after graduation (Ball et al., 2010).

indicated that they would like to take part in the survey with an estimated combined population of around 12,500 CAD, media and communications graduates from the target cohorts.

For the qualitative follow-up a smaller number of interviews will be conducted with respondents to the quantitative survey who have indicated that they would be willing to be contacted for interview. The aim of the interviews will be to get a deeper level of insight and understanding of the early career experiences of respondents and will be selected to give a broad range of the kinds of experiences creative graduates have. The precise number interviewed will depend upon the range of data that comes out of the interviews, but it is envisaged that around 30-45 interviews should provide broad idea of the range of experiences and views of creative graduates and to reach a reasonable level of saturation.

8. How will respondents be *selected and recruited*?

The research will require the participation and help of HEIs in the selection and recruitment of participants. The research will not be possible without this help. Recruitment of HEIs is currently in progress. However, an initial call for expressions of interest indicates that at least seven HEIs are prepared in principle to take part in the research and to carry out the sampling process involved.

Using a systematic random sampling method participating HEIs would select potential participants from their own records and will then email those selected inviting them to take part in the research by completing a survey online. **This approach means that HEIs are not required to pass on data to me or any other third party**. A copy of the draft sampling protocol which includes a brief background to the research and detailed sampling instructions has been submitted with this application along with a draft sampling tool (attachments 1 and 2). A covering email sent by a contact at the Council for Higher Education in Art and Design inviting HEIs to participate in the research has also been included (attachment 3). HEIs have been asked to consider whether the sampling tasks involved fit in with their institution's Fair Processing Notice and policies regarding contacting graduates to invite them to take part in graduate surveys.

At this stage HEIs have only been asked to register their interest in taking part and to indicate whether in principle they would be prepared to carry out the sampling tasks involved. For those institutions wishing to take part in the survey written consent will be sought before the survey goes live asking them to confirm that: a) their institution's Fair Processing Notice permits them to contact graduates for the purposes of the survey, and b) graduates selected have not opted out of their FPN or otherwise indicated that they do not want to be contacted by the HEI for the purposes of surveys.

For the qualitative follow-up study participants will be purposively selected from respondents to the quantitative survey who have indicated that they would be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview. They will be contacted by email and asked whether or not they would be willing to participate in a telephone interview lasting between 35 and 45 minutes. A copy of the draft email invitation and information sheet that would be used to recruit participants is included with this application (attachment 4).

9. What steps are proposed to ensure that the requirements of *informed consent* will be met for those taking part in the research? If an Information Sheet for participants is to be used, please attach it to this form. If not, please explain how you will be able to demonstrate that informed consent has been gained from participants.

Graduates selected by institutions to take part in the quantitative survey will be emailed by the institution directly. A copy of the suggested invite and reminder email text can be found in

appendices 1 and 2 of the sampling protocol (attachment 1). The email gives a brief outline of what the survey is about and how they were selected to take part. The email invites them to click on a link to go to the survey website's welcome page. The welcome page and additional information page give a more detailed information about the survey, how the data will be stored and used and asks them whether or not they are happy to consent to take part in the survey. The welcome page makes it clear that by clicking on the continue button to take part in the survey they consent to take part in the survey. They are also informed that if they start to complete the online questionnaire but do not finish it their answers will be saved by default and to contact the lead researcher directly with the date and time they started the online questionnaire if they would like their response deleted. Participants will be informed that they will not be able to withdraw from the survey after the survey has closed. Draft 'Welcome' and 'Additional Information' pages have been submitted along with this application for ethical approval (attachment 5).

The precise details as to how their data will be stored and disposed of, and what will happen to incomplete or 'save and continue' responses, will depend slightly on which online survey platform is used. However, all three of the options currently being considered (Bristol Surveys Online, SmartSurveys.co.uk, and TypeForm) have SSL encryption and have secure servers that are located in the EU.

Interviewees in the qualitative follow-up will be asked to record their consent to being interviewed, based on the information about the research supplied to them in the email invite and information sheet (see answer to Q10), verbally at the start of the interview. A copy of the draft email invitation and information sheet has been submitted along with this application (attachment 4).

10. How will *data* be *collected* from each of the sample groups?

The quantitative survey will be an online survey carried out using an online survey tool. Current options being considered are: Bristol Online Surveys, smartsurvey.co.uk, and TypeForm. Responses will be coded and recorded automatically by the survey tool. There will be an option to ask for a call back to continue the survey over the phone for respondents who may need assistance with completing the survey online (eg those who have dyslexia or other conditions). In these cases I will call participants back at a time that suits them and take their answers over the phone and input them into the online survey.

For respondents who consent to be followed up for interview, they will be contacted initially via email and asked when would be a good time for them to be interviewed. Potential participants will be e-mailed an information sheet. Assuming they are happy with this, interviews will then be carried out over the phone at a time convenient to the participant. They will be asked if they mind the call being recorded for analysis purposes. If they agree, calls will be recorded and transcribed for analysis. If not, notes will be taken during the interview and a consent form will be sent to them separately.

11. How will *data* be *stored* and what will happen to the data at the end of the research?

While the quantitative survey is still open all responses will be stored securely on the survey hosts servers. All three survey companies currently under consideration offer SSL encryption of survey data on their servers and is only accessible by the 'client' (ie myself) using a login and password. Once the survey is closed the data will be extracted and stored securely on a password protected computer that only I have access to.

Any recordings/transcripts of qualitative follow-up interviews will also be encrypted using at least 256-bit encryption and held securely on the university network with password access. Responses will be coded with a unique identifier and any names, or contact details will be stored separately from participants' responses.

Data will only be stored for the duration of the research and any subsequent publications and will be destroyed in a secure fashion thereafter.

12. What measures will be taken to prevent unauthorised persons gaining access to the data, and especially to data that may be attributed to identifiable individuals?

It will not be necessary to know the identity of the vast majority of survey participants and names and contact details will only be asked if they consent to be re-contacted for follow-up interview. In the latter cases no names or contact details will be used in any reporting and care will be taken to ensure that they are not identifiable from their responses. In the case of reporting of survey responses, data will be suppressed where the base size for any one group is smaller than 31 cases

As mentioned above whilst the quantitative survey is still open all data will be stored on the survey company's secure server using SSL encryption. After the survey is closed all survey responses and interview recordings/transcripts will be held on a password protected computer network with any identifying information stored separately from responses. A password will be necessary to access data at either of these two stages and only I will be able to access them.

Any paper data relating to the research, and especially any relating to individuals participating in the qualitative phase of the research, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, to which only I have the key, in a locked office.

13. What steps are proposed to safeguard the *anonymity* of the respondents?

As mentioned above, survey data will be suppressed where the base size for any one group is smaller than 31 cases and care will be taken to ensure that interview respondents are not identifiable from their responses. Where any direct quotes intend to be used in the reporting of qualitative interviews, pseudonyms will be used and permission will be sought if there is any remote possibility that they may be identifiable from their responses.

In order to encourage HEIs to take part in the survey and perform the sampling and contacting tasks involved it was necessary to offer some form of enticement in order to get 'buy-in' from them. Therefore, provided that enough graduates from their institution have responded to the survey, a set of anonymised headline tables containing aggregate data from their participants will be provided to them. These tables would give aggregate proportions or averages for each question (eg % agreeing/disagreeing) only where 31 or more respondents have answered the question. This approach has been previously used successfully in the Creative Graduates Creative Futures (CGCF) project that I worked on for CHEAD (Ball, et al., 2010). This reporting threshold will ensure that individuals are not identifiable from their responses and is similar to the reporting conventions used in other surveys (eg the Student Income and Expenditure Survey[5]).

[5] Pollard, E., Hunt, W., & Hillage, J. (IES), & Drever, E., Chanfreau, J., Coutinho, S., & Poole, E. (NatCen) (2013). Student Income and Expenditure Survey 2011/12: English Domiciled Students. Department for Business Innovation and Skills, Research Paper Number 115.

14. Are there any *risks* (physical or other, including reputational) *to respondents* that may result from taking part in this research? / **NO** (please circle).

    If YES, please specify and state what measures are proposed to deal with these risks.

As mentioned above, care will be taken to ensure that respondents are not identifiable in the reporting of findings from either the quantitative survey or the qualitative interviews.

15. Are there any *risks* (physical or other, including reputational) *to the researcher or to the University* that may result from conducting this research? **YES**/ (please circle).

    If YES, please specify and state what measures are proposed to manage these risks.[6]

The only potential risk to the reputation of the university is through being associated with the survey if contacted graduates are unhappy about being contacted for the survey. In order to reduce the risk of this happening email invites and reminders will make it clear how participants have been selected and contacted to take part and that no data has been passed on by their university to any third party. In addition, care will be taken to ensure that survey and interview questions are not worded in a way that could cause offence or distress to any individuals.

16. Will any *data* be *obtained from a company or* other *organisation.* / **NO** (please circle) For example, information provided by an employer or its employees.

    If NO, then please go to question 19.

Personal data is not being supplied to the researcher by participating universities for this project. See also answer to Q19.

17. What steps are proposed to ensure that the requirements of *informed consent* will be met for that organisation? How will *confidentiality* be assured for the organisation?

18. Does the organisation have its own ethics procedure relating to the research you intend to carry out? YES / NO (please circle).

    If YES, the University will require written evidence from the organisation that they have approved the research.

19. Will the proposed research involve any of the following (please put a √ next to 'yes' or 'no'; consult your supervisor if you are unsure):

- Vulnerable groups (e.g. children) ? YES [ ] NO [√]
- Particularly sensitive topics ? YES [ ] NO [√]
- Access to respondents via 'gatekeepers' ? YES [√] NO [ ]

[6] Risk evaluation should take account of the broad liberty of expression provided by the principle of academic freedom. The university's conduct with respect to academic freedom is set out in section 9.2 of the Articles of Government and its commitment to academic freedom is in section 1.2 of the Strategic Plan 2004-2008.

- Use of deception ? YES ☐ NO ☑
- Access to confidential personal data ? YES ☐ NO ☑
- Psychological stress, anxiety etc ? YES ☐ NO ☑
- Intrusive interventions ? YES ☐ NO ☑

If answers to any of the above are "YES", how will the associated risks be minimised?

As mentioned previously, the research will require the participation of HEIs in order to sample and contact potential survey participants. Participating HEIs will be asked to select and email potential participants directly to invite them to take part in the survey. **Therefore, participating HEIs will not be asked to pass on any confidential personal data or contact details to me or any other third party.** Without the consent and participation of HEIs it would not be possible to sample and contact individuals and therefore the survey could not take place. If HEIs chose not to take part in the research their students will not be sampled or contacted in any way.

20. Are there any other ethical issues that may arise from the proposed research?

None.

PBS ETHICS APPROVAL V4: 2014

Please print the name of:			I/We grant Ethical Approval
student	William Hunt	supervisor	Peter Scott
Signed:			
(student)	William Hunt	(supervisor)	Peter Scott
Date	03/07/14	Date	3.7.14.

AMENDMENTS

If you need to make changes please ensure you have permission before the primary data collection. If there are major changes, fill in a new form if that will make it easier for everyone. If there are minor changes then fill in the amendments (next page) and get them signed before the primary data collection begins.

PBS ETHICS APPROVAL V4: 2014

CHANGES TO ETHICS PERMISSION

VERSION: ____

Please describe the nature of the change and impact on ethics:

Please print the name of: I/We grant Ethical Approval

student _____ supervisor _____
Signed:

(student) _____ (supervisor) _____

Date _____ Date _____

(please cut and paste the next section, together with the heading at the top of this page, as many times as required)

VERSION: ____

Please describe the nature of the change and impact on ethics:

Please print the name of: I/We grant Ethical Approval

student _____ supervisor _____
Signed:

(student) _____ (supervisor) _____

Date _____ Date _____

Sharman Rogers <sharman.rogers@port.ac.uk> 10/07/2014

to me

Dear Wil

Thank you for submitting your research project for an ethical opinion. We can grant a favourable ethical opinion to your research.

Only problem is that you have used the student form and not the Staff/PhD one, however, the committee has agreed to let this go on this occasion.

As a favour, the committee asks if it may use your ethical review as an example of a good application (we will, of course, remove the names).

--
Sharman Rogers

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END